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T H E   E P I T A P H I O I   L O G O I

BY



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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled

THE EPITAPHIOI LOGOI

submitted by Alison Dale in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis the five extant Epitaphioi Logoi have been subdivided according to their common topics and themes, and these common topics and themes examined in detail in order to determine the characteristic and distinctive features of an Epitaphios Logos. The varying treatments of the common topics and themes by the five authors (Thucydides, Lysias, Plato, Demosthenes and Hypereides) are considered in the main body of the thesis. The individual or unique features of each, which are not, therefore, common elements of an Epitaphios Logos, are discussed in the conclusion.



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## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

It was part of the Athenian civic religion to hold a public funeral for those who died in battle. The custom is of uncertain origin, but appears to have become a yearly event, during the course of which a speech was delivered in honour of the dead. Five examples of such a speech have survived, covering a period of approximately one hundred years (431 - 322 B.C.). These speeches belong to that period in Athens' history from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens had reached the zenith of her power, until the years shortly after Chaeroneia (338 B.C.), by which time the cities of Greece were subject to Macedon.

The speeches extant are:

- a) Thucydides II 35-46.

In this portion of his Histories, Thucydides represents the Epitaphios delivered by Pericles after the first year of the Peloponnesian War, 431/430 B.C.

- b) Lysias II

Lysias' Epitaphios was composed for those who died in the Corinthian War, 395 - 386 B.C. Its date of delivery is uncertain.

- c) Plato: Menexenus 236d<sub>4</sub> - 249c<sub>8</sub>

A mock funeral oration forms the major part of this



dialogue, supposedly written shortly after 387/6 B.C.

d) Demosthenes LX

This is assumed to be the Epitaphios delivered by  
Demosthenes over the dead of Chaeroneia 338/7 B.C.

e) Hypereides VI

Hypereides delivered this oration over Leosthenes and  
the men who died in the first year of the Lamian War,  
323/322 B.C.

It is proposed in this thesis to present the characteristic nature of an Epitaphios Logos by means of a detailed examination of the common topics and themes observed in the extant speeches. In addition there will be a brief discussion of the relationship to the Epitaphioi Logoi of 1) a fragment of Gorgias attributed to his last Epitaphios and 2) a portion (46 - 51) of Lycurgus' Against Leocrates. The individual features of the extant speeches will also be enumerated. Whatever development is discernible in the speeches will be noted and considered. The account of the Epitaphios Logos, however, will be confined to the period of the extant speeches. Its previous development is obscure and a matter of much debate.<sup>1</sup> Other than references which may occur within the speeches, no mention will be made of the previous tradition.

The extant speeches have been found to consist of four sections, and each of these will constitute a chapter in the discussion. The content of the sections is summed up as follows:

- I                    Introduction - Prooimion
- II                   The Glorification of Athens





III            The Present Public Funeral

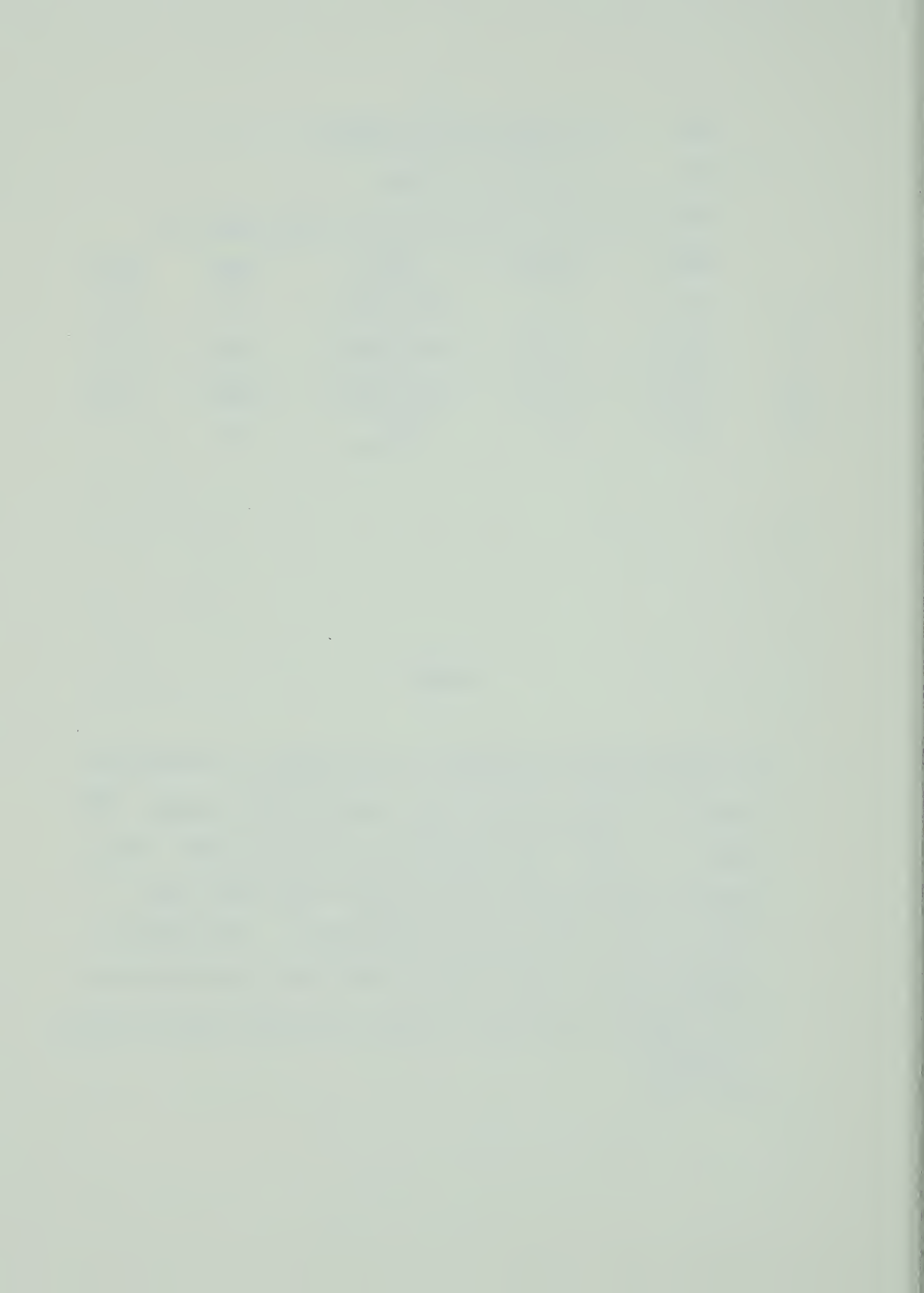
IV            Conclusion - Epilogos

The distribution of these sections in each author is:

|     | <u>Thuc.</u> | <u>Lysias</u> | <u>Plato</u>                         | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Hyp.</u> |
|-----|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| I   | 35           | 1-2           | 236d <sub>4</sub> -237b <sub>2</sub> | 1-3         | 1-3         |
| II  | 36-41        | 3-66          | 237b <sub>3</sub> -246a <sub>4</sub> | 4-12        | 4-5         |
| III | 42-45        | 67-81         | 246a <sub>5</sub> -249c <sub>6</sub> | 13-37       | 6-43        |
| IV  | 46           | 81            | 249c <sub>6-8</sub>                  | 37          | -           |

NOTES

1. The question of the institution of the ceremony is considered in detail by F. Jacoby in his article "Patrios Nomos", J.H.S. LXIV (1944) 37-66. The problem is not entirely solved. Some scholars support an early date (Solon!), while others, with Jacoby, a later date, after the Persian Wars. This thesis is concerned with the extant speeches and not with speculation as to their origin or first date of delivery, which have not as yet been ascertained.



## CHAPTER II

### The Prooimion to the Epitaphios Logos

The Epitaphioi Logoi have been summarised, in accordance with the subdivisions of each, as in the preceding table. It is proposed to consider and discuss each of the subdivisions as they occur in the speeches. The first to be dealt with, therefore, is the Introduction, technically <sup>1</sup> known as the προοίμιον. Since it acts as a preface to the speech, with general remarks on the subject to follow, we find in each certain common themes. The most important of these are listed as follows, under representative headings.

A. Speaking over the dead.

Thuc. II 35.1; Lysias II 1; Plato 236d<sub>7</sub>;  
Dem. LX 1; Hyp. VI 1.

B. The dead deserve praise and remembrance.

Lysias II 2 (twice); Plato 236e (twice);  
Dem. LX 1,2; Hyp. VI 3.

C. The fact that the dead were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, their ἀρετή.

Thuc. II 35.1; Lysias II 1,2; Plato 236e<sub>6-237</sub> a<sub>2</sub>, a<sub>5</sub>;

D. Words cannot match their deeds.

Lysias II 1; Dem. LX 1; Hyp. VI 2.

E. Public funeral, decreed by the State, δημοσίαια.

Thuc. II 35.1; Lysias II 1; Plato 236d<sub>6</sub>;  
Dem. LX 1,2.





F. The law or custom authorizing this speech, νόμος.

Thuc. II 35.1,3; Plato 236d<sub>7</sub>; Dem. LX 1,2.

G. Others who have spoken previously.

Thuc. II 35.1; Lysias II 1,2; Dem. LX 3.

Each of these themes is common to at least three of the five authors. Other notions of interest that appear in one or two of the authors are:

(a) Preference of death over life.

Plato 237a<sub>4</sub>; Dem. LX 1.

(b) Possibility of omission of anything.

Dem. LX 3; Hyp. VI 2.

(c) Emulation .

Plato 236e<sub>5</sub>.

(d) Choice at short notice.

Lysias II 1.

In the following discussion the major themes will be considered individually as they are listed - A,B, etc. The other notions will be cited where relevant to the discussion and indicated (a),(b), etc.

A. This theme is self-explanatory as an indication of subject matter. Each orator informs his audience that he is about to deliver a speech over those who have been buried on that occasion. The information may be imparted indirectly. Thucydides incorporates it in his comment (35.1): οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς καλὸν.. "The majority of those who have spoken here in the past have praised



this custom." He himself, ἐμοὶ δὲ, felt it was adequate to honour the dead by action, namely the funeral rites. Nonetheless he declares (35.3) that, since it was approved by his forebears, he must follow the custom. Lysias (2) makes reference to his speech about the dead, ὁ μὲν λόγος μοι περὶ τούτων, in the midst of his argument that it is impossible to prepare a speech worthy of the dead. His address, ὦ πάροντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ, indicates his position, or supposed position, with the mourners at the grave. The statements in Plato, Demosthenes and Hypereides are straightforward.

B. That the men who died deserve praise through speech is the reason, together with the consolation of the living, for its delivery. Plato is the most explicit as to the purpose of the Epitaphios Logos (236e<sub>3-7</sub>), namely to give the dead due praise, establish their lasting memory, and console the living. Great deeds deserve praise and honour through fine words (236e<sub>1-3</sub>), ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πράξεσσι γίγνεται... The notion of worthiness appears in Plato (237b<sub>2</sub>), καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν (πρᾶξιν) "fair and worthy accomplishment", Demosthenes (1) τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐπαίνου, and Hypereides (3) ἄξιον δὲ ἐστίν... For Plato worthiness leads to necessity for praise, and thus we find (236e<sub>1</sub>) κόσμον... ἀποδοῦναι... κατὰ χρῆν, (236e<sub>3</sub>) δεῖ δὲ τοιούτου τινοῦς λόγου and (237a<sub>4,5</sub>) δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι ... ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοῦς. Duty forms the framework of Plato's Introduction. In Thucydides necessity arises from the custom requiring the delivery of a speech, rather than necessity resulting from the worthiness of the men.



Neither worthiness nor necessity is to be found in Lysias. He states, on the contrary, that praise has already been given, though not exhaustively, and will be given in the future (2): καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ..., πολλὰ δὲ..., ἱκανὰ δὲ...ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν.

This is indirect acknowledgement of the men's worth.

The result of praise and remembrance according to Plato (236e) should be consolation of the living and hence encouragement towards emulation (cf. notion (c) ). It is not unnatural that a need to emulate figures of the past be felt. Plato is alone in mentioning emulation in connection with praise of the dead. Demosthenes (2) indicates that praise leads to reputation, εὐδοξία. Lysias implies (2) reputation in ὕμνοισι. Hypereides merely states the men's worthiness of praise (3), without referring to emulation. Thucydides likewise does not mention the results of praising the dead. He embarks on the speech because the custom is approved of old (35.3). If he, or the other three, considered the notion of emulation, then they did not express it, nor thought it necessary to be expressed.

C. We find frequent reference in the Introduction to the fact that the men were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί as a result of dying in battle. Thus have they shown their ἀρετή and therefore they deserve praise. The speakers lay greater or lesser emphasis on the fact as they require. Demosthenes refers to the men's valour five times in the Introduction and gives a categorical definition of the ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ (3): "to have been nobly born and strictly brought up and to have lived with lofty ideals". This repetition of the theme prefaces





a similar concern with the nature of ἀρετή in his section dealing with the men's birth and education (16-18) and thereafter (19-24), where he considers that a man is ἀγαθός by virtue of dying for his fellowmen, regardless of victory or defeat. One suspects that in his prooimion Demosthenes directs his auditors' attention away from the fact of defeat towards a general appreciation of the men's valour.

Plato stresses the fact that the men who died are ἀγαθοί by nature, κατὰ φύσιν, and thus deserve praise (cf. Theme B.), and that they are ἀγαθοί being born of ἀγαθοί parents. In this way he prepares for the following part of his speech, in which he dwells on ancestors, their noble birth and great deeds, linking the present dead with past heroes.

Both Plato and Demosthenes, in connection with ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, speak of preference of death to life<sup>2</sup> (notion (a) ); Plato (237a<sub>2</sub>) writes: καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ζώντων σωτηρίας ἥλλάξαντο, "they exchanged the safety of life for death"; Demosthenes (1) writes: καὶ τελευτῆσαι καλῶς μᾶλλον ἡβουλήθησαν ἢ ζῶντες τὴν Ἑλλάδ' ἰδεῖν ἀτυχοῦσαν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνυπέμβλητον... "they desired a noble death rather than a life looking on the misery of Greece". There are, then, similarities between Plato and Demosthenes as regards the theme of ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί. Lysias and Hypereides mention ἀρετή or ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί as a matter of course.

In contrast, Thucydides makes only one reference to ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί (35.1); men who have become ἀγαθοί in action should be honoured by action. This forms part of his argument that to make a





fitting speech is difficult. The emphasis in his prooimion does not lie on the nature of *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί* but on the difficulty of praising them to please all (cf. Theme D following).

D. The theme that words cannot match the deeds of the dead is a statement which makes an appeal to the auditors for their indulgence. The idea is specifically expressed in Lysias, Demosthenes and Hypereides. These orators are trying to create the impression of inability on their part, or on the part of mankind in general, to give the dead adequate praise in speech. Demosthenes and Hypereides further amplify this statement by admitting the possibility of omission (notion (b) ). Demosthenes (3) feels that he would be ashamed if he were to omit anything concerned with *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί* (cf. Theme C above). Hypereides is confident that should he omit anything, those present will be able to supply it for themselves.

Thucydides indirectly expresses the notion that words cannot match the deeds of the dead by following a somewhat different pattern. He denies the necessity of speech at all, as far as he is concerned, (35.1). He believed that honour through action sufficed, laying emphasis on action, *ἔργον* as opposed to word, *λόγος*. Tradition demands that a speech be made, (if the Boule so decides). He therefore devotes the central portion of his prooimion to a detailed, yet concise, exposition on the difficulty of speaking in due measure, with a sense of proportion to please all. This is not an admission of inability on his part, but an expression of common sense.

Theme D does not appear in Plato. Where Lysias and Hyper-



eides express their lack of ability - namely Lysias (1) "since all time is insufficient to match their deeds in words", and Hypereides (2) "... I now fear lest the speech appear inferior to their deeds", one finds the rhetorical antithesis λόγος-ἔργον in natural contrast. Plato uses the same pair, but in co-equal, rather than negative-positive, sense; he writes (236e<sub>1</sub>) of "remembrance and praise of their great actions through fair speech". This statement is consistent with Plato's portrait of the competent orator (234c), who can easily compose an Epitaphios Logos and need make no apology, pretended or otherwise, for lack of ability.

E. All the speakers, apart from Hypereides, mention that they are participating in a State ceremony, δημοσίᾳ, in which the dead are given public burial. Although in his speech Hypereides devotes considerable time to the praise of one man, he is still concerned with those who died as a group. This fact indicates that the occasion is a public, rather than a private one. Moreover, his praise of the city is not on account of the ceremony, as in Lysias (1), but for its choice of leader, Leosthenes.

In the actual funeral speeches there is little information regarding the procedure of the ceremony.<sup>3</sup> There may be an indication in Plato's words (236d<sub>6</sub>) that the speech follows the other parts of the ceremony. He states that the dead have their due, having been sent forward on their journey by city and by relatives, and the honour which remains to be granted them is the speech.<sup>4</sup> Plato also mentions that the dead are sent forth with private thoughts and actions of



relatives, as well as the public ceremony. The custom or law, νόμος, authorizing the speech and the choice of speaker will be considered as a separate theme, F .

F. Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes mention a νόμος that applies to the occasion. The part of the νόμος with which they are concerned is the part authorizing the speech, rather than the ceremony as a whole.<sup>3</sup> The verbs, προστιθέναι in Thucydides, and προστάττειν in both Plato and Demosthenes, accompanying the noun, νόμος, suggest that the νόμος was not simply a custom, but a law ruling that on the occasion of a public funeral a speech would be delivered and a speaker be chosen by the Boule or the people. Demosthenes alone<sup>5</sup> gives specific detail (2): "The city is concerned with ... and particularly through this law in accordance with which it chooses the speaker at the public funerals."

Lysias<sup>6</sup> commends the city on making its choice of speaker at short notice (1), ἐξ ὀλίγου (notion (e) ). The reason for such a method of choice is that the audience may excuse the shortcomings of the orator. Whether this was a stipulation of the νόμος or not cannot be proven. There is, however, a comment in the beginning of the Menexenus which refers to a similar situation (235c<sub>7</sub>): Menexenus says, "The choice is made entirely on the spur of the moment, so that the speaker is perhaps forced as it were to improvise." The phrase ἐξ ὑπογύου "on the spur of the moment", gives some support to Lysias' statement.





G. Apart from mention of the νόμος three of the authors, allude to previous speakers. Thucydides (35.1) criticizes those who have spoken previously over the dead, inasmuch as they have praised the practice, while he thought it unnecessary. Hence the practice existed before the delivery of this speech of Thucydides. Demosthenes (1) admits that he will follow the tradition of previous speakers, despite the fact that the ἀρετή of the dead cannot be expressed by words.

Lysias, in his second paragraph, places himself in competition with previous and successive speakers (2), ὁ ἄγων...πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας, ...καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις...ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν. His use of the perfect participle, εἰρηκότας, is similar to that of Thucydides (35.1), τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων, and Demosthenes (1), τοῖς πρότερόν ποτ' εἰρηκόσιν ἐνθάδε... Both Thucydides and Demosthenes refer to occasions previous to the one on which they speak, as is made clear by the sense in the former, "the majority of those who have already spoken here ...". Demosthenes makes the situation absolutely clear by his insertion of ποτ', "from time to time". Lysias' phraseology, however, presents a difficulty of meaning. In the two statements of Lysias quoted above there appear the words πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας, "over them", and καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι, "about them", which can only refer to the dead over whom he himself speaks. Logically then, the previous speakers have spoken over, or concerning, the same dead as Lysias does.

It is generally<sup>7</sup> assumed without question that there was only one speaker chosen on any one occasion to deliver a speech. (cf.





Thuc. II, 34.1, Plato 234c, Dem. LX. 2.) Translators and commentators, therefore, take Lysias' words ἐπ' αὐτοῖς and περὶ αὐτῶν in the said phrases to signify the dead on previous occasions on which orators have delivered funeral speeches. This assumption ignores the fact that ἐπ' αὐτοῖς and περὶ αὐτῶν refer to Lysias' dead. In the case of the second quotation, καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ... the sense of earlier speakers on previous occasions would give a carefully balanced structure, τοῖς προτέροις paralleled by τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις past and future speakers. It is this balance which leads others to think that τοῖς προτέροις in Lysias indicates speakers on previous occasions.

In view of ἐπ' αὐτοῖς and περὶ αὐτῶν the reference to "previous speakers" may be explained in two ways:

(a) There was more than one orator delivering a speech over the dead of that year on that occasion;

(b) In εἰρηκότας and εἰρήσθαι Lysias is thinking of men speaking informally on any number of occasions, about the dead and their exploits, and not at the official ceremony. Of these two, the first possibility is not substantiated by any other evidence. The second, however, may be supported by the final sentence of the Introduction, πανταχῇ... ὑμνοῦσι, "and everywhere, amongst all men, those who mourn their own ill fortune will praise the valour of these men."

Lysias claims that the men who have died will receive praise everywhere not at the Athenian ceremony alone. If one interprets this sentence as an expansion of τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις and its implications, πρότερον and τοῖς προτέροις may also have a broader application than the specific reference to the official ceremony. The contest, ἄγων,



therefore, is to be understood as existing between the speaker on this formal occasion and unnumbered others on their own unnumbered occasions.

## NOTES

- 1 See Aristotle Rhet. 1414b<sub>19</sub> , on the rhetorical divisions of a speech.
- 2 See section III of the Epitaphios, Topic (i) Theme F.
- 3 Thucydides , in preface to his Epitaphios gives details of the ceremony, II 34.
- 4 See page 86.
- 5 Thucydides (II 34) and Plato (235c) make reference to the choice of speaker outwith their actual Epitaphioi Logoi.
- 6 Lysias does not mention the νόμος. See, however, page 85.
- 7 See F. Blass, Die Attische Beredsamkeit (Leipzig 1887) I 436ff.  
M. Bizos, Lysias: Discours (Paris 1959) I 44 and 46.  
G. Colin, in his article on Hypereides, R.E.G. 51 (1938) 231.



## CHAPTER III

### The Glorification of Athens

The second subdivision of the Epitaphioi Logoi is essentially a Glorification of Athens, whether in the form of praise of her Ancestors who created the city, or praise of the city itself. We shall see that there are certain differences amongst the authors as regards choice of subject matter.

This subdivision is found in each author as follows, together with the proportion of that subdivision relative to the whole speech.

|             |                                       |     |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Thucydides  | II 36-41                              | 50% |
| Lysias      | II 3-66                               | 79% |
| Plato       | 237b <sub>3</sub> - 246a <sub>4</sub> | 68% |
| Demosthenes | LX 4-12                               | 25% |
| Hypereides  | VI 4-5,7                              | 6%  |

The percentages indicate that for Lysias and Plato this section of the speech was of major importance, whereas Demosthenes and Hypereides were less concerned to spend time on this subject. Thucydides is ostensibly more balanced in his arrangement, (I - 9%, II - 50%, III - 38%, IV - 3%.) A closer analysis of this subdivision in each author will reveal their similarities and differences of treatment.

The following summaries will indicate the subject matter of each author:

|                   |               |    |    |
|-------------------|---------------|----|----|
| <u>Thucydides</u> | (a) Ancestors | 36 | 9% |
|-------------------|---------------|----|----|



|                    |                                       |                                       |     |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----|
|                    | (b) The city                          | 37-41                                 | 41% |
|                    | i) Constitution                       | 37                                    |     |
|                    | ii) Benefits                          | 38                                    |     |
|                    | iii) Military Affairs                 | 39                                    |     |
|                    | iv) Athenian Characteristics          | 40                                    |     |
|                    | v) Education to the Rest of<br>Greece | 41                                    |     |
| <u>Lysias</u>      | (a) General comment - introduction    | 3                                     | 1%  |
|                    | (b) Mythological Past                 | 4-16                                  | 18% |
|                    | (c) Transition to Historical Past     | 17-20                                 | 4%  |
|                    | (d) Persian Wars                      | 21-47                                 | 34% |
|                    | (e) Inter-State War                   | 48-53                                 | 6%  |
|                    | (f) General reflections               | 54-60                                 | 8%  |
|                    | (g) Civil strife                      | 61-65                                 | 7%  |
|                    | (h) Conclusion                        | 66                                    | 1%  |
| <u>Plato</u>       | (a) Noble Origin                      | 237b <sub>3</sub> - 238b <sub>6</sub> | 9%  |
|                    | (b) Constitution                      | 238b <sub>7</sub> - 239a <sub>4</sub> | 6%  |
|                    | (c) Athens, Champion of Freedom       | 239a <sub>5</sub> - 246a <sub>4</sub> | 53% |
|                    | i) Mythological Past                  | 239a <sub>5</sub> - 239c <sub>7</sub> | 4%  |
|                    | ii) Persian Invasions                 | 239d <sub>1</sub> - 241e <sub>5</sub> | 18% |
|                    | iii) Inter-State Strife               | 241e <sub>6</sub> - 244b <sub>3</sub> | 18% |
|                    | iv) To the Corinthian War             | 244b <sub>4</sub> - 246a <sub>4</sub> | 13% |
| <u>Demosthenes</u> | (a) Noble Origin                      | 4-5                                   | 5%  |
|                    | (b) Athens, Champion of Freedom       | 6-11                                  | 20% |
|                    | i) Mythological Past                  | 6-8                                   | 8%  |
|                    | ii) Historical Past                   | 9-11                                  | 8%  |
|                    | iii) Conclusion                       | 12                                    | 4%  |





|                   |                  |     |    |
|-------------------|------------------|-----|----|
| <u>Hypereides</u> | (a) The City     | 4-5 | 4% |
|                   | (b) Noble Origin | 7   | 2% |

There are four major topics common to the five speeches. These will now be considered, with the common themes belonging to each topic individually discussed. Thucydides' eulogy of the contemporary city is unique amongst the extant Epitaphioi Logoi. It will be considered in the concluding chapter of the thesis, when the individual features of each author are considered, and such parallels that exist with themes found in the other authors will be noted.

The four major topics in this section are as follows:

- (i) Noble Origin
 

Thuc. II 36.1; Lysias II 17; Plato 237b<sub>3</sub>-238b<sub>3</sub>;  
Dem. LX 4-5; Hyp. VI 7.
- (ii) Mythological Ancestors
 

Thuc. II 36.1; Lysias II 4-20; Plato 239a<sub>5</sub>- 239c<sub>7</sub>;  
Dem. LX 6-8; Hyp. VI 4-5.
- (iii) Historical Ancestors
 

Thuc. II 36.2; Lysias II 21-65; Plato 239d<sub>1</sub>- 246a<sub>4</sub>;  
Dem. LX 9-11; Hyp. VI 4-5.
- (iv) Constitution of the State
 

Thuc. II 37; Lysias II 18-19; Plato 238b<sub>4</sub>- 239a<sub>4</sub>;  
Dem. LX 25-26.



(i) Noble Origin

In this topic there are four themes, as follows:

A. The Athenians are αὐτόχθονες.

Thuc. II 36.1-3; Lysias II 17; Plato 237b;  
Dem. LX 4; Hyp. VI 7.

B. Their individuality in this respect.

Lysias II 17; Plato 237b-c; Dem. LX 4;  
Hyp. VI 7.

C. The land is their mother, ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ μήτηρ.

Lysias II 17; Plato 236c, 237c-238b;  
Dem. LX 5.

D. Nourished by the fruits of the earth.

Plato 238a<sub>5</sub>-b<sub>6</sub>; Dem. LX 5.

It was a matter of some importance<sup>1</sup> for the speaker to incorporate the idea of εὐγένεια, nobility of birth in the sense of origin of noble character and mind, such as the Athenians possessed. Thucydides merely mentions the fact that the Athenians were autochthonous and then proceeds to Athens' past which he will likewise dismiss swiftly. Plato and Demosthenes give the most extensive treatment of the topic. Lysias considers the topic as part of his transition between mythological and historical ancestors, rather than in a position preceding these topics. Hypereides goes further and incorporates the notion in what is essentially a second introduction, namely to the main body of the speech, after his brief dismissal of Athens' past history. The differences of treatment by the various authors will also be seen in the following discussion of the themes.



A. Allusion to the autochthonous nature of the Athenians is made by all the speakers. That they were born in their own land becomes a sign of εὐγένεια, which is worthy of praise. Thucydides expresses the idea (36.1) that the same people have always dwelt continuously in the land, handing down a free city to their descendants. This sentence, τὴν γὰρ χώραν...παρέδοσαν, supplies the reason why it is fitting and just to bestow honour and remembrance upon Athens' ancestors, δίκαιον γὰρ...τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι.

Lysias incorporates the notion in his transition from mythological to historical predecessors (17-20), where he is also concerned with development of democracy (cf. Topic iv). He alone introduces the aspect of justice, δίκη, into this topic. As we shall see, justice is a prominent theme in Lysias' section on mythological ancestors (4-16). He concludes (17) that the origin, ἀρχή, of the Athenians was just, as a result of their being autochthonous and not having to drive anyone from the land, their land, in unjust fashion.

Plato and Demosthenes devote a greater percentage of their speeches to the topic of εὐγένεια than do the other orators, (9% and 5% respectively). The theme of the autochthonous nature of the Athenians is expanded, as we shall see in their treatment of the other themes. Hypereides, on the contrary, makes reference to εὐγένεια in passing (7). He is in the process of discovering the best method of praising his principal subjects. The topic of noble origin, therefore, will not be expanded. Had the men come from different places he would begin with an account of genealogies. Athenian origin is different (cf. Theme B). It is κοινὴ γένεσις, common birth, which results



in ἀνυπέρβλητον τὴν εὐγένειαν, nobility of birth that cannot be expressed in words. In this way Hypereides incorporates the notion of autochthony, linking it to the topic of εὐγένεια without being obliged to express himself further on the subject.

B. That the Athenians were individual because of being autochthonous was important. It explained Athenian superiority as something natural, which is stressed by Demosthenes in particular. He states (4) that the Athenians alone have this privilege and all mankind acknowledges their εὐγένεια through it. Lysias shows that the Athenians were not as others (7), who had gathered into some foreign country from other parts of the world. In terms of Plato's life-metaphor (Theme C) the Athenians have no step-mother as other nations do (237b<sub>7</sub>), which implies that the Athenians with their true mother are superior to all other nations. Hypereides gives the impression that there is something extraordinary about the Athenians' autochthony, which cannot be expressed in words (cf. Theme A), again implying superiority. The notion of superiority is lacking in Thucydides partly because of his brief treatment of this topic, partly because he will give emphasis to Athenian preeminence elsewhere in his speech (37-41).<sup>2</sup>

C. Plato enhances his whole account of εὐγένεια with an elaborate life-metaphor of birth and motherhood (237c-238b). The land herself must be praised (237c<sub>5</sub>), as being dear to the gods, and as bearer of mankind, as nurse of mankind. By implication, then, the product of this land, the Athenians, must deserve praise also. The





passage is artfully devised with continual use of words derived from the root 'gen -', as seen in πρόγονοι, γεννησαμένη, γένεσις, γένος, ἐκγόνοις, γεννήσει, κτλ. (figura etymologica). Nor is the preference of γῆ to χώρα and the substitution of γυνή for μήτηρ coincidental (238a<sub>4</sub>). The repetition of τεκμήριον and τὸ τεκόν or ἔτεκεν (237e<sub>1</sub>) must be conscious punning (paronomasia) on the similarity of sound. There is clever arrangement of words and clauses throughout, e.g. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναῖκα μεμίρηται κυήσει καὶ γεννήσει, ἀλλὰ γυνή γῆν. (238a<sub>4</sub>f). Alliteration of the voiced guttural is obvious. The repetition of γῆ γυναῖκα in the second clause in reverse grammatical order is a device known as antimetabole. The similarity, or rather the identical nature of the ending in κυήσει and γεννήσει is an example of homoeoteleuton. Rhetorical device is blatant. It may well be a parody or ridiculing of sophistic method.

Both Lysias and Demosthenes incorporate the notion of Attica being father as well as mother of the Athenians, which makes Plato's emphasis on the mother-metaphor the more exaggerated.

D. The theme that the Athenians are nourished by the fruits of the earth, as appears in Plato and Demosthenes (238a<sub>5</sub>-b<sub>6</sub> and 5 respectively), is the natural continuation of the theme that the earth is their mother. Plato's more extensive account includes a comparison with the nourishment of wild beasts in general, which leads into a distinction between those and mankind. The implication which seems to follow is that the Athenians stand in the same relationship to other nations as



mankind does to the wild beasts. The theme does not appear in Lysias<sup>3</sup> since he is more concerned with the results of Athenian autochthony than proofs thereof.



(ii) Mythological Ancestors

Thucydides and Hypereides each devote merely a sentence to mythological ancestors. Hypereides does not distinguish between mythological and historical ancestors (4). The themes which belong to this topic therefore are found in the other three authors for the most part. There are eight common themes, as follows:

## A. Forefathers, πρόγονοι.

Thuc. II 36.1; Lysias II 3,20; Plato 239a<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 7; Hyp. VI 4.

## B. The myths employed:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Amazons                             | Lysias II 4-6;<br>Plato 239b <sub>3-4</sub> ;<br>Dem. LX 8. |
| (2) Eumolpus                            | Plato 239b <sub>3</sub> ;<br>Dem. LX 8.                     |
| (3) Adrastus' and<br>Polyneices' burial | Lysias II 7-10;<br>Plato 239b <sub>5</sub> ;<br>Dem. LX 8.  |
| (4) Sons of Heracles,<br>suppliants     | Lysias II 11-16;<br>Plato 239b <sub>6</sub> ;<br>Dem. LX 8. |

## C. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, their ἀρετή.

## (1) ἀρετή.

Thuc. II 36.1; Lysias II 6 (twice), 10,15,20;  
Plato 239b<sub>7</sub>; Dem. LX 6.



## (2) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί

Lysias II 5,8,14,19; Dem. LX 7.

- D. They are Worthy of Praise and Remembrance, ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου  
καὶ μνήμης.

Thuc. 36.1; Lysias II 3; Plato 239b<sub>5</sub>-c<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 6.

- E. They fought for Freedom, ἐλευθερία, opposing slavery,

Thuc. II 36.1; Lysias II 14,15,18 (twice);  
Plato 239a<sub>5</sub>-b<sub>1</sub>.

- F. They fought for Justice, δίκην, against injustice,

Lysias II 6 (thrice),7,10,12 (twice),14 (thrice),16,  
17 (twice),19; Dem. LX 7; Hyp. VI 5.

- G. The danger they faced, κίνδυνος.

Lysias II 3,9,12,14,15; Hyp. VI 5.

- H. Not wishing to speak at length.

Thuc. II 36.4; Plato 239b<sub>6</sub>; Dem. LX 6;  
Hyp. VI 4.

- A. In each author except Hypereides there is a distinction made  
between mythological and historical ancestors. Thucydides (36.1)  
declares that forefathers, πρόγονοι, deserve praise and remem-  
brance. Then he proceeds (36.2) to fathers, πατέρες ἡμῶν which





means presumably the generation previous to that of Thucydides himself, namely the first and second quarter of the 5th century. The men of that time fought for Greek freedom against the Persians. *πρόγονοι*, then, refer to ancestors prior to the Persian Wars and hence prior to recorded history, and *πατέρες* to predecessors within the 5th century.

Lysias, Plato and Demosthenes reflect this distinction in their treatment of the myths (Theme B) on the one hand, and of the Persian Wars and later strife amongst the Greeks (Topic (iii) ) on the other. In their use of *πρόγονοι* and *πατέρες* they differ somewhat from Thucydides. Lysias mentions *πρόγονοι* in his introduction (3) to the section (3-66) and in the conclusion (20) to this topic of mythological ancestors (4-20). He then refers (20) to historical ancestors as *οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονότες*, "the descendants of those men", (*ἐκείνων* being *πρόγονων* ), but *πρόγονοι* does appear also in connection with historical ancestors. *πρόγονοι*, therefore, in Lysias, pertain to all ancestors, mythological or otherwise.

Plato introduces *πρόγονοι* in his topics, nobility of birth (i), and constitution (iv). He refers to *πατέρες* (239a<sub>5</sub>) as "the fathers of these men (the dead) and our fathers and these men themselves (the dead) were brought up amidst freedom, on account of the nature and actions of Athens' *πρόγονοι* ." The distinction made seems similar to that of Thucydides, *πατέρες* referring to the immediately preceding generation, and *πρόγονοι* to those further back. Plato does not specifically link this distinction with his subdivision into mythological and historical ancestors, but the connection may have been assumed.



Demosthenes, like Lysias, uses *πρόγονοι* to cover both mythological and historical ancestors (7), as in "the ancestors of the present generation". He subdivides *πρόγονοι* into "both fathers and those in the past bearing the names of these men, by which they are recognized by our race". Demosthenes' introduction of names of the race must be intended to anticipate his account of the tribal ancestry of the Athenians and their loyalties to their eponymous tribal heroes (27-31). This theme is a unique feature of Demosthenes' speech, both in subject matter and position in that part of the speech devoted to the present dead.<sup>4</sup>

Hypereides alludes to both mythological and historical ancestors (4), where he considers that to recount all the deeds of the past concerning the city would be impossible or beyond his interests.

B. There are three examples from mythology demonstrating Athenian *ἀρετή* which are common to Lysias, Plato and Demosthenes. The fourth example, concerning Eumolpus, appears only in Plato and Demosthenes. Lysias alone gives some detail of the myths. The other two orators simply name the particular figures with whom the ancient Athenians had contact. The myths of the Amazons, the Heracleidae and Adrastus and Polyneices represent three different ways in which the Athenians proved their *ἀρετή*. Lysias' omission of the Eumolpus myth may be explained by the fact that both the Amazons and Eumolpus represent invasions of Attica. He would require but one example of Athenian justice against attempted, unjust enslavement, together with his examples of respect for funeral rites due to the dead (the burial of Adrastus and Polyneices at



Thebes) and respect for the rights of suppliants (the Heracleidae fleeing Eurystheus). Plato considers Eumolpus and the Amazons together in one group, the Heracleidae and Adrastus and Polyneices in the other. In the case of the latter group, we find the deliberate contrast of the Argives as the wronged (Adrastus and Polyneices) and then as the wrong-doers (Eurystheus and his army, who were persecuting the Heracleidae); ὥς ἤμυναν Ἀργείους πρὸς Καδμείους καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς Ἀργείους, "... they defended the Argives from the Cadmeans and the Heracleidae from the Argives ...". He is using a figure of structure known as antimetabole for emphasis, thus pointing out how unbiased Athenian judgment was with regard to freedom and justice. Both Plato and Demosthenes decline to give detailed<sup>5</sup> accounts inasmuch as they feel that the mythological ancestors have been given due praise by the poets (Plato 239b<sub>6</sub> and Dem. 9 respectively). Plato's modest reference to his "plain prose" is an instance of his ironical approach to the speech.

C. All but Hypereides refer to the ἀρετή of the mythological ancestors. This and subsequent themes, D - G, represent the attributes of the mythological ancestors and their actions. Lysias' more frequent use of such themes is natural since he alone relates the myths in some detail.<sup>6</sup>

D. As a result of their ἀρετή the πρόγονοι are worthy of praise and remembrance. Thucydides (36.1) claims that πρόγονοι are worthy of praise and remembrance, but chooses not to expand the notion.





Lysias gives explicit reason (3); the ancestors ought to be glorified and honoured because of the dangers with which they contended (cf. Theme G), so that the deeds of the dead might serve as lessons for the living. We already observed Plato's stress on the theme of worthiness in his Introduction (cf. page 6 ). It is repeated here (239c<sub>3</sub>), ἐπειδὴ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν, "since they have their deserts", together with the resolve not to speak at length (cf. Theme H). Demosthenes (6) expresses the notion that it is worthwhile to recall in at least summary fashion deeds of the past, even to those who are acquainted with them: ἀδὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσι χρήσιμ' ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀπείροις κάλλιστ' ἀκοῦσαι . The concept of "those who know" and "those who do not" is reminiscent of Thucydides (35.2), and is ever a problem which faces the orator. That their deeds should be recalled to those who already know of them, enhances the notion of the ancestors' worthiness of praise and remembrance.

E. The theme of freedom, ἐλευθερία , occupies an important position in the Epitaphioi Logoi. In the topic of mythological ancestors it appears in Thucydides, Plato and Lysias. It was for freedom that Athens' ancestors fought (Plato 239b<sub>1</sub>), to keep their land free (Thuc. 36.1), as a result of which the Athenians who were born after them grew up amidst freedom (Plato 239a<sub>5</sub>). Lysias, in his account of the myths, repeats the notion by reference to the unjust enslavement of others by the Amazons (5), and by reference to the Athenian belief in the rights of freedom, not to live under the yoke of others (14-15 and 18). Lysias





links ἐλευθερία closely with the following theme, justice. Demosthenes omits the theme to concentrate rather on justice.

F. Demosthenes refers to the ancient Athenians never acting against Greek or barbarian, and thus they were the most noble, brave and just (7), δίκαιοτάτοι. Hypereides points to the city's respect for justice, as she helped the just, but punished the evil (5). Lysias, however, lays greater emphasis on this theme. His three mythological examples demonstrate the way in which Athens' ancestors acted justly against injustice. The Amazons unjustly enslaved others and attempted to enslave the Athenians (4-6). The Athenians insisted that Adrastus and Polyneices be buried, in opposition to the unjust refusal of the Thebans (9-10). Justice was their ally in this cause and they triumphed (10), δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι. They protected the Heracleidae who were wronged and pursued by Eurystheus (11-16). They believed it a mark of freedom not to be forced to act against one's will (Theme E) and a mark of justice to help those who are wronged. Justice is, therefore, the principle motivation for Lysias' account of the mythological ancestors, and as we observed<sup>7</sup>, justice defined Athens' whole beginning (17), ἀρχή.

G. In their attempt to establish freedom and justice, the Athenian of those times had to face many dangers, κίνδυνοι. This theme is most prominent in Lysias, since he gives most detail. Hypereides also speaks of κίνδυνοι as the personal risks undertaken by Athens for the common



safety of Greece (5). His statement refers to mythological and historical ancestors alike. It will be observed how this statement corresponds exactly to his description of the actions of the dead over whom he speaks.<sup>8</sup>

H. This theme, of not wishing to speak at length, is common to four of the five authors. In the case of Lysias, the theme is not applicable, since he does in this topic speak at length. Plato's reason for not doing so is twofold; i) the brevity of time does not allow a proper account, ὅ τε χρόνος βραχύς, and ii) the poets have already given fair praise to the mythological ancestors (239b<sub>6</sub>). If he attempted to dwell on the topic, he claims he would appear inferior. In view of his attitude<sup>9</sup> to poetry, his comment must be ironical, and particularly his reference to his "plain prose". Demosthenes also declares the lack of time (6). He will avoid inappropriate length in his speech and approach the topic by way of a summary, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ. He develops the theme, as Plato does, with reference to the poets' having already composed many charming verses on the subject (9), although there is no irony present in Demosthenes' statement. The notion of summary is repeated by Hypereides (5), in connection with the city and her deeds. His summary at the end of 5 is extremely brief, with no specific mention of events. It seems Hypereides had lifted the phrase ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου from Demosthenes, but had curtailed the summary to an absolute minimum.

Both Thucydides (36.1) and Hypereides apply this theme to all ancestors of the past, not simply to mythological times. Both intend



to devote their time to the present; Thucydides wishes to eulogise the final product of the ancestors' efforts, the city of Athens, while Hypereides wishes to praise the men who died, Leosthenes in particular.



(iii) Historical Ancestors

The major themes in this topic are as follows:

## A. Fathers, πατέρες.

Thuc. II 36.2,4; Lysias II 20; Plato 239a<sub>6</sub>;  
Dem. LX 9.

## B. Events .

Thuc. II 36.4; Hyp. VI 4.

## (1) Persian Wars.

Lysias II 21-47; Plato 239d<sub>1</sub>-241e<sub>5</sub>;  
Dem. LX 10.

## (2) Athens after the Persian Wars.

Lysias II 48-57; Plato 241e<sub>6</sub>-242c<sub>2</sub>;  
Dem. LX 11.

## (3) Peloponnesian War.

Lysias II 58; Plato 242c<sub>3</sub>-243d<sub>7</sub>.

## (4) Athens after the Peloponnesian War.

Lysias II 58-66; Plato 243e<sub>1</sub>-246a<sub>2</sub>.

## C. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί , their ἀρετή.

## (1) ἀρετή

Lysias II 23,25,26,33,40,42,43,44,47,51,  
54,57,58,60,61,63,66.

Plato 239d<sub>4</sub>,240d<sub>4</sub>,240d<sub>7</sub>,241c<sub>4</sub>,241c<sub>8</sub>,  
243a<sub>6</sub>,243c<sub>1</sub>,243d<sub>1</sub>.

Dem. LX 12 (twice).

## (2) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί

Lysias II 23,24,25,27,51.





Plato 242b<sub>6</sub>, 242e<sub>6</sub>, 243c<sub>5</sub>, 245e<sub>7</sub>, 246a<sub>1</sub>.

Dem LX 10.

D. They are worthy of Praise and Remembrance, ἄξιοι ἐπαινεῖσθαι.

Thuc. II 36.2; Lysias II 3, 61, 66; Plato 239c<sub>3-7</sub>,  
241a<sub>5</sub>, 241b<sub>4</sub>, 241c<sub>8</sub>, 241d<sub>4</sub>, 243d<sub>1</sub>, 244a<sub>4</sub>, 246a<sub>2</sub>;  
Dem. LX 10, 12.

E. They fought for Freedom, ἐλευθερίᾱ, opposing slavery,  
δοῦλείᾱ.

(1) ἐλευθερίᾱ.

Lysias II 24, 26, 33, 34, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 55, 60, 62, 64;  
Plato 239d<sub>7</sub>, 240e<sub>2</sub>, 242a<sub>7</sub>, 242b<sub>6</sub>, 242c<sub>1</sub>, 243a<sub>1</sub>, 244c<sub>7</sub>,  
245a<sub>3</sub>, 245c<sub>7</sub>, 246a<sub>1</sub>.

(2) δοῦλείᾱ.

Lysias II 21, 33 (twice), 41, 46, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61,  
62, 64 (twice);  
Plato 239d<sub>1</sub>, 239d<sub>6</sub>, 239e<sub>1</sub>, 240a<sub>2</sub>, 240a<sub>4</sub>, 244d<sub>1</sub>,  
244e<sub>5</sub>, 245a<sub>2-3</sub>.

F. They fought for Justice, δίκη, against injustice, ἀδικία.

Lysias II 22, 46, 61; Plato 242b<sub>4</sub>, 245a<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 11 (twice); Hyp. VI 5.

G. The Danger they faced, κίνδυνος, and safety, σωτηρία.

(1) κίνδυνος.

Lysias II 21, 23, 24, 25, 26 (twice), 31 (twice),  
33, 34, 35, 40 (twice), 41, 43, 44 (twice), 45,  
47 (twice), 50, 54, 55, 61, 63, 66.



Plato 240e<sub>4</sub>; Dem. LX 10; Hyp. VI 5.

(2) σωτηρία.

Lysias II 23,35,44,58,64,66.

Plato 240d<sub>1</sub>,240e<sub>5</sub>,241c<sub>5</sub>,241d<sub>5</sub>,241e<sub>4</sub>,244c<sub>8</sub>.

Dem. LX 10; Hyp. VI 5.

H. Defence and help rendered, ἀμύνεσθαι, βοηθεῖν.

(1) ἀμύνεσθαι.

Thuc. II 36.4; Lysias II 21,29,32.

Plato 241a<sub>4</sub>,241b<sub>1</sub>,241c<sub>7</sub>,244b<sub>6</sub>; Dem. LX 10,11.

(2) βοηθεῖν.

Lysias II 22,23,30,46,66.

Plato 240c<sub>6</sub>,242b<sub>2</sub>,242b<sub>6</sub>,242c<sub>1</sub>,243a<sub>2</sub>,242c<sub>3</sub>,  
244e<sub>5</sub>,245a<sub>1</sub>,245a<sub>2</sub>,245a<sub>5</sub>,245a<sub>6</sub>.

I. They were alone, μόνοι, in performing these deeds.

Lysias II 20,24,47,50; Dem. LX 10,11; Hyp. VI 5.

J. On speaking in detail, μακρηγορεῖν.

Thuc. II 36.4; Lysias II 54; Plato 244d<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem LX 12; Hyp. VI 4.

A. The distinction between πρόγονοι and πατέρες has already been considered under the topic of mythological ancestors.

Thucydides (36.2 and 4) indicates by his use of βάρβαρον πολέμιον that the πατέρες are those who fought in the Persian Wars at the beginning of the fifth century. When Lysias, Plato and Demosthenes



mention or imply πατέρες (20,239a<sub>6</sub>, and 9 respectively), they include their forebears who fought against the Persians, just as Thucydides used the word.

B. Thucydides (36.2 and 4) and Hypereides (4) mention, only to dismiss, the deeds, ἔργα, of Athens' ancestors. Demosthenes gives a summary account of their deeds (9-12) in similar fashion to his treatment of the mythological ancestors (6-11). He describes (10) how the Athenians were saviours of Greece, and as such might be considered superior to the Greeks who sailed to Troy<sup>10</sup>, since the latter battled for ten years against one Asian stronghold, whereas the Athenians withstood the invasion of Persians gathered from the whole Asian continent. He refers (11) to inter-city strife after the Persian Wars, in which Athens showed her zeal for justice. In two sentences, then, he covers Athenian history from 479 to 338 B.C., incorporating common themes of praise, without citing any event.

Lysias and Plato devote considerable space to this topic, 54% and 50% of their speeches respectively. The subdivision of the events, as shown in the theme summary, indicates that the two authors cover approximately the same period, from the Persian Wars to the Corinthian War in the 380's.<sup>11</sup>

(1) Lysias devotes a greater percentage of space to the Persian Wars, namely 33% as opposed to Plato's 13%. He describes in detail the major events in which Athens was involved, particularly the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C. (27-43). Plato, despite his briefer treatment, includes an account, if somewhat schematic, of the rise of



Persia (239d<sub>1</sub>-240a<sub>4</sub>). Moreover, he considers the Athenian expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt in the 460's as part of the Persian Wars (241e<sub>1-5</sub>). In tone the conclusions of the two accounts differ. Lysias describes (47) the καλλίστην τελευτήν, most glorious end, of Plataea, and the final securing of freedom for all Greece, entirely through Athenian ἀρετή. Plato, however, must end upon a less triumphant note, because he chooses to include later events which his auditors would know were not altogether successful. Perhaps he is aware of this in his use of δειντλήθη, "and for the city this war was waged to its bitter end" (241e<sub>6</sub>).

(2) When dealing with Athens' development after the Persian Wars the two authors differ widely in their choice of subjects. Lysias (49) considers Athenian naval activity on the Egyptian expedition and at Aegina (457-6 B.C.), and the action of her land forces around Megara and Corinth, with specific reference to Myronides'<sup>12</sup> victory (457 B.C.), exaggerating Athens' renown as a result of it.

Plato selects other topics and carries the exaggerating tendency of praise to falsification and obscuring of the truth. He represents the Athenians fighting against the Spartans for the freedom of Boeotia, at Tanagra (457 B.C.), and in the same year at Oenophytoi (242b). In the case of the former, he claims that the battle was left undecided, although we learn from Thucydides<sup>13</sup> that it was an Athenian defeat. Plato's intention in describing the action of the Athenians in Boeotia was to exemplify her defence of justice and freedom. Exaggeration of a victory can be observed in any eulogy, but alteration of the facts, when the facts are well known, is a different question.





This falsification, viewed together with the other instances<sup>14</sup>, would seem to indicate that the author is not concerned with sincerity and truth, that he wishes to demonstrate by deliberate and obvious falsification that any orator delivering such a speech need not be historically accurate. Plato could not make this point simply by the omission of adverse facts or by exaggeration, as may be found in Lysias.<sup>15</sup> He must give false credit and praise where praise is not necessarily due. His point will be further proved by his treatment of the Peloponnesian War.

(3) Plato alone describes certain of the events during the Peloponnesian War, namely the Athenian victory at Sphacteria (242c) and the fighting in Sicily (242e-243a). He alludes to action around the Hellespont (243a,b) and then in the Aegean, at Mytilene and Arginusae (243c). Certainly Plato could not have recounted all the events of the war, and certainly one would expect an orator on the occasion of a speech such as the Epitaphios Logos to omit events which were not to Athens' credit. He claims, however, that at Sphagia (Sphacteria) Athenian forces conquered the leaders of Sparta, and stresses that Athens showed great clemency in returning the captives and making peace. One would infer from Plato's account that the peace followed immediately upon the event. It was not until four years later that peace was concluded, after the Athenian defeat at Delium.<sup>16</sup> In what Plato calls the "third war" (242e), the Athenians set up many trophies of victory fighting for the freedom of the Leontini. His auditors would surely recognize blatant omission of the major events of the Sicilian Expedition, which was generally disastrous to Athens.<sup>17</sup> He then proclaims (243c) that the men who fought at Arginusae were ὁμολογουμένως ἄριστοι,



"avowedly the best". His irony here is unmistakable. The generals of the battle were put on trial for failure to recover the dead.<sup>18</sup> Plato turns all attention to the dead: "they lie there, having met their undeserved fate" (243c<sub>6</sub>). Finally when he comes to the result of the war, he cannot admit that the Athenians were defeated by anyone (243d). It was rather their own misfortune: "We ourselves conquered ourselves and were conquered by ourselves.". This is almost sophistic logic, worthy of Gorgias himself. His auditors could not have forgotten the final defeat of Athens at Aegospotami.

Lysias alludes to the period of the Peloponnesian War only when he states (58) that Athens commanded the seas for seventy years<sup>19</sup>, preserving democracy where she could. He presents the view that Athens' sea power in all this time kept the Persian King at bay, and thus justifies Athenian "protection" and "leadership" of the other cities(57). Athenian misfortunes are admitted, but, according to Lysias (58), they were born with true Athenian ἀρετή, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετήν. "Lost ships" refers to the defeat of Aegospotami, but his following remarks (58,59) on the confusion in Greece after the Peloponnesian War leads one away from thoughts of defeat to the realization that the power of Athens had been the salvation of Greece, ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν σωτηρία. Lysias, therefore, gives her praise without any glaring falsification.

(4) From the period after the war, both authors mention the incident in the Piraeus (Lysias 61-66, Plato 243e). The event appealed to both<sup>20</sup> authors as an example of Athenian democratic sentiments and opposition to the Spartan-backed tyranny in Athens. For Lysias it



represented a struggle for freedom akin to the struggles of Athens' mythological ancestors against great odds (61). Plato's portrayal of the event as a "joyful and natural reconciliation" is highly ironical.

Both consider the following period in the 390's when Sparta was in control of Greece (Lysias 58-60, Plato 244b<sub>3</sub> ff.). Plato refers to the necessity for curbing Spartan ascendancy; hence the League of Argives, Boeotians, Corinthians and Athenians arose (244d and 245c). We find that he draws attention to the Corinthian War (245e). This is the final historical event which appears in the speech. The dead from the Corinthian War are those over whom Lysias speaks. In Plato's speech, however, the "present dead" do not belong to any specific war. It may be implied that the deceased have fought in the Corinthian War, but this would be anachronistic<sup>21</sup>, if Socrates is supposedly delivering a speech composed by Aspasia; for both were dead before the hostilities around Corinth ever began. This obvious anachronism has given rise to much dispute<sup>22</sup> as to the authorship and purpose of the dialogue. We shall see<sup>23</sup> that the explanation lies in Plato's irony. Plato again demonstrates how historical inaccuracies creep into the Epitaphios Logos, to the point of ridicule.

Both Lysias and Plato conclude the entire section on historical ancestors in similar fashion, with expressions of their worthiness of praise (Theme D), which marks a major division in the speech, between glorification of the past and present.

C. This theme of ἀρετή occurs as before.<sup>24</sup> In Plato there is a noticeable increase in the use of ἀρετή and ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: in





the previous topic the former appeared once, the latter not at all. This naturally depends upon the amount of space devoted to each topic. We observe that Plato only uses the phrase, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί in his description of the period after the Persian Wars, although one would expect to find, as in Lysias, that the conduct of the Athenians was more just and befitting the concept of the ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος during the Persian Wars than in later times. In the case of Plato we seem to have another example of misplaced credit for ironic effect. As far as ἀρετή is concerned, there is a more even distribution in both authors.

Of the other orators, Demosthenes alone mentions ἀρετή (12), together with ἀμείνους and ἀριστεῖς (10) as variants of ἀγαθοί.

D. Just as mythological ancestors deserve praise<sup>25</sup>, so are the historical ancestors worthy of praise and remembrance. Thucydides (36.2) claims that πατέρες deserve praise even more than πρόγονοι since they were directly responsible for the magnificent city in which the Athenians to whom he speaks live, the city which he is about to praise instead of the deeds of the ancestors. Lysias briefly uses the theme of praise as an introduction (3), and conclusion (66), to his section on ancestors, together with his admiration for the democrats in the Piraeus (61). Demosthenes is reminiscent of Thucydides in declaring (9) he will give more prominence to the historical ancestors, his reason being that they have not been "elevated to the ranks of the heroic through verse". The neglect is caused by their closer proximity





in time to the present, not by their inferiority to the mythological ancestors. Despite claiming that they deserve more praise, however, Demosthenes merely alludes to their deeds in summary and declares that their ἀρετὴ is proof alone of their worthiness, without detail being given, ἡ 'κείνων ἀρετὴ δείκνυσιν αὐτὴ...(12).

Like Demosthenes, Plato insists that due praise and remembrance have not been accorded to historical ancestors (239c), whilst mythological ancestors have received abundant praise from the poets. One observes that he constantly repeats throughout his narrative of the deeds of the historical ancestors the notion that they deserve praise and remembrance, and also gratitude, χάριν, a notion not found in the other Epitaphioi Logoi. Thus ancestors in general deserve praise (239c<sub>3,5</sub>): those who fought at Marathon (241a<sub>5</sub>), those at Salamis (241b<sub>4</sub>), those at Plataea (241c<sub>8</sub>), those in Cyprus and Egypt (241e<sub>2</sub>), those at Sphacteria (242d<sub>4</sub>), those at Arginusae (243d<sub>1</sub>), those in the Piraeus (244a<sub>4</sub>), and finally those at Corinth and Lechaeum and all such as are like them (246a<sub>2</sub>). This extravagant repetition would seem to indicate an ironical approach to the subject on the part of the author. Plato intensifies the irony of his misrepresentation of historical fact by constantly reminding his auditors of their ancestors' merit.

E. Fighting for the freedom, ἐλευθερία, of Greece against those who wished to enslave her again occupies an important place in the accounts of Lysias and Plato. For Thucydides it was Athens' mythological ancestors who established the freedom of the city (36.1), which the historical ancestors then inherited and maintained, ever adding to the



possessions of the city (36.2). The notion of freedom is not repeated in his remarks on the latter, but assumed. As far as Demosthenes and Hypereides are concerned, their omission of the theme at this point in the speech may be explained by their obvious desire to dwell upon the attributes of the present dead, and to dismiss the ancestors with as few words as possible.

The frequent appearance of the theme of freedom in Lysias' account of the Persian Wars is in part due to the extensive coverage of the subject. Plato, on the other hand, considers the notion more in relation to events after the Persian Wars, where it becomes a question of freedom from the domination of another Greek city, namely Sparta. As in the case of his use of *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί* (Theme C) one would more naturally expect the notion of *ἐλευθερία* to appear in the account of Greek opposition to Persia. The answer again lies in recognizing Plato's irony. One also notes that Plato places emphasis on *δουλεία*, subjugation, in his description of the rise of Persia before the expedition against Greece, and not in the possible threat to Greece herself. This may be ironical misplacement of emphasis, for in Lysias' treatment of this topic we find a more even distribution of the theme of freedom.

F. The theme of justice, related to that of freedom, which was prominent in Lysias' account of mythological ancestors<sup>26</sup>, loses its importance in this topic. Justice appears but three times in Lysias' long narrative. Plato mentions it twice, although he omits it in the previous topic.<sup>27</sup> For Demosthenes alone the theme has some significance



in this topic: Athens' great achievement in the Persian Wars was not only in conquering the barbarian armies, but also in meting out punishment to those who had wronged the rest of Greece (11). Where he speaks of internal strife in Greece, Athens was always on the side of justice, ὅπου τὸ δίκαιον εἴη τεταγμένον. In summarising both situations he incorporates the notion of justice, for justice was one of the essentials of democracy.<sup>28</sup> Demosthenes' life was very much centred around the law courts in Athens, and justice, therefore, would tend to be continually in his thoughts.

G. The theme of danger, κίνδυνος, is found overwhelmingly in Lysias, particularly when he deals with the Persian Wars. The Athenians encountered great danger in facing the Persian forces who far outnumbered them. Moreover, they often faced them alone (cf. Theme I). There was also risk involved in defending Greek freedom against the tyranny of Greeks.

The notion of safety, σωτηρία, is expressed by Lysias and Plato in their long accounts, in much the same fashion as their use of ἐλευθερία (Theme E). Demosthenes and Hypereides insert into their brief summaries of preceding events the notion that the Athenians fought for the common safety, κοινὴ σωτηρία, of Greece. Their expression is very similar: Demosthenes writes (10) : καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων κινδύνων κοινῆς σωτηρίας πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αἵτιοι κατέστησαν, "and through their individual risks they made themselves responsible for the common safety of all the Greeks"; Hypereides writes (5) τοῖς δὲ ἰδίοις κινδύνοις καὶ δαπάναις κοινὴν





ἄδειαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν παρασκευάζουσα , "and by the individual risks and expense they provide the Greeks with common safety". In Hypereides ἄδειαν, lack of fear, is the equivalent of σωτηρία. The idea of the common safety of Greece, as opposed to Athens' own safety, which appears in these later orators, may reflect the political attitudes<sup>29</sup> of each, attitudes based on a desire for a united Greece standing against Macedon. The notion is then transferred to the orators' remarks on Athens' past history, and hence they speak of the common safety of Greece where their predecessors had spoken of ἐλευθερία (Theme E).

H. This theme, defence and help, is closely related to the previous one, G. The verb, ἀμύνεσθαι, to defend, appears in all authors with the exception of Hypereides. It occurs most frequently in Plato. The verb βοηθεῖν, to help, go to the help of, is also used repeatedly (eleven times) by Plato, principally in connection with Athens and the internal struggles in Greece after the Persian Wars. This seems to be another instance of Plato's ironical misplacement of emphasis. Athens was not so much helping others as helping herself. The use of βοηθεῖν in Lysias appears where one would expect it, in the section on the Persian Wars.

I. This theme, that the Athenians alone of all the Greeks fought for the freedom and safety of Greece, is found in Lysias and Demosthenes. Alone, or single handed, the Athenians defeated the barbarians. This is exaggeration and ignores the part played by Sparta in the Persian Wars.





The theme implies the superiority of the Athenians. Plato nowhere specifically states that the Athenians were μόνον in opposing the Persians, but the notion of superiority is implied in "leaders and the teachers of the other Greeks" (240c<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>). In connection with events after the Persian Wars, Plato states that the Athenians were πρώτοι, first, to help Greeks against Greeks in the name of freedom (242b<sub>5</sub>). πρώτοι again implies superiority. The theme acts as an extension of the topic of εὐγένεια<sup>30</sup> where it was stressed that the Athenians were different from the other Greeks at the very outset of their lives. Here their difference and implied superiority is demonstrated by their actions.

The theme is perhaps also implicit in the "individual risks", expressed by Demosthenes (10) and Hypereides (5), in contrast with the safety of all Greece, as observed in Theme G.

J. The position of Thucydides (36.4) and Hypereides (5) has already been mentioned in the previous topic<sup>31</sup>, where the theme of not wishing to speak at length was considered. They both desire to avoid treating ancestors as a whole, mythological and historical.

In this topic, the theme of not speaking at length differs in context to a certain extent. Lysias (54) explains that it is not easy for one man to recount in detail the exploits of many, nor tell all in one day: "for what speech or time or speaker could be capable of revealing the ἀρετή of these men lying here?". This rhetorical question is reminiscent of the theme of insufficient time expressed in Lysias' prooimion<sup>32</sup>, where we find "all time is not sufficient to prepare a



speech equal to the deeds of these men" (1). In both the orator places himself in such a position as to avoid criticism of omission.

Plato (244d) asks "What need is there to speak at length ...?". At this point in his narrative he has reached the period of the 390's, which his (Plato's) auditors can supposedly<sup>33</sup> recall from personal memory. It is therefore of little value to dwell on events in detail since they are known to all.<sup>34</sup> By this allusion to not speaking at length Plato conveniently draws his narrative to a close, the narrative which he introduced (239c) with the suggestion that the deeds of the historical ancestors were worthy of more praise, and hence a longer account.

Demosthenes (6) declared that he would speak on ancestors in summary fashion. In conclusion (12) he orders no-one to believe it is inability which prevents him from speaking at length on the topic. It would not matter if he was the most incapable orator, ἀμηχανώτατος, since the men's ἀρετή speaks for itself. He does not, however, wish to spend time on the past. He would rather pass on to the present, relating past to present and bestowing his praise on both at once.

To Demosthenes the mere recital of ancestors' ἔργα and ἀρετή is ῥᾶδιον, easy. Hypereides, on the contrary, more resembles Lysias in his treatment of this theme. He states (4) οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρῶν ἱκανός, οὔτε ὁ καιρὸς ἀρμόττων τῷ μακρολογεῖν, οὔτε ῥᾶδιον ἓνα ὄντα τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας πράξεις ἐπελθεῖν καὶ μνημονεῦσαι. " ... neither is the present time sufficient, nor the opportunity fitting to speak at length, nor is it easy for one man to relate and call to memory so many deeds of such



quality". With these words Hypereides justifies his omission of the section in praise of ancestors, other than in summary form. He and Demosthenes achieve the same end, but by different routes.



(iv) The Constitution of the State

All the orators, except Hypereides, devote a small, but significant, amount of space to the topic of Athens' constitution. In Thucydides (37) it marks the beginning of his eulogy of contemporary Athens.<sup>35</sup> The topic, πολιτεία, or constitution, is introduced, together with ἐπιτηδεύσις, principles of conduct, and τρόποι, way of life (36.4), by way of preface to the whole section (37-41).

Both Lysias and Plato link the topic closely with that of εὐγένεια. Lysias (17-20) bridges the topics of mythological and historical ancestors with a paragraph on εὐγένεια and πολιτεία, the former (17) referring back to the mythological ancestors, the latter anticipating the historical ancestors. The major theme of these sections in Lysias is justice. Justice led to the driving out of tyranny and the establishment of democracy, δημοκρατία, which in turn ensures freedom, ἐλευθερία, which we observed was an important theme in the topic of historical ancestors.<sup>36</sup> In Plato the relationship between εὐγένεια and πολιτεία is indicated by the continuation of the life-metaphor<sup>37</sup>, which is seen in the notion of τροφή, nourishment (238c<sub>1</sub>), and in the reference to "one mother" and "brothers" (239a<sub>1</sub>). πολιτεία, he says, is "nourishment of man", and the Athenians, coming from one mother, must be equal. ἰσονομία, equality before the law, which is the basis of democracy, naturally follows. On the question of ἰσονομία, however, we shall see that Plato shows inconsistency.<sup>38</sup>

The topic, πολιτεία, appears in Demosthenes (25,26) within that section of the speech concerned with the present dead.<sup>39</sup> From a





comparison of the themes in Demosthenes' treatment of the topic, one finds sufficient parallels to merit its inclusion at this point in the discussion. It would appear that Demosthenes transferred the topic of πολιτεία from its position in the "Glorification of Athens", found in his predecessors, to the "Present Public Funeral". He made this transference in his attempt "to bring his speech swiftly to the deeds of the dead" (12).

The common themes found in this topic are as follows:

- A. The Athenian constitution was a democracy, δημοκρατία.

Thuc. II 37.1; Lysias II 18; Plato 238d<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 26.

- B. Comparison with other constitutions.

Thuc. II 37.1; Lysias II 18,19; Plato 238e<sub>3,4</sub>;  
Dem. LX 25.

- C. Freedom, ἐλευθερία.

Thuc. II 37.1; Lysias II 19; Plato 239a<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 26.

- D. Equality, ἰσονομία.

Thuc II 37.1; Plato 238e<sub>1</sub>-239a<sub>3</sub>;  
(Hyp. VI 6).

- E. Justice, δίκη, and obedience to the law.

Thuc. II 37.1,3; Lysias II 18,19;  
Dem. LX 26.



A. Each of the four authors gives as one reason for Athens' greatness the fact that her constitution was a democracy, δημοκρατία. Thucydides and Plato expand the definition that democracy is simply "rule of the people". Thucydides (37.12) qualifies "government not in the hands of the few, but the many", by pointing to the importance of individual ability, and the fact that poverty does not exclude a man from public office. Plato (238d) claims that the system of government, though called a democracy, is in actual fact an aristocracy, by which he means the rule of the best, using the word in its original sense. He stipulates that the man who appears to be wise and good must be governor and ruler, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι κρατεῖ καὶ ἄρχει.

(238d<sub>8</sub>). In this notion he concurs with Thucydides' idea of the man who has something ἀγαθόν, good, to offer the State (37.1). He also repeats Thucydides' notion of poverty (238d<sub>6</sub>).

In contrast to the fairly elaborate descriptions of Thucydides and Plato, the fact that the Athenian constitution was a democracy is simply stated in Lysias (18) and implied by Demosthenes, in πολιτείας, "our form of government" (25), followed by a brief discussion of democracies and their attributes (26). Both Lysias and Demosthenes are known<sup>40</sup> to be more democratic in their political outlook than Thucydides or Plato. The fact that they have less to say about theoretical democracy than the latter two may reflect their implicit belief in the system per se, whereas Thucydides and Plato felt the need to accommodate it to their own personal beliefs on the best system of government.

B. Each author compares democracy to other systems of government.



Plato is the most explicit in his reference to τυραννίδες, tyrannies, or ὀλιγαρχίαι, oligarchies (238e<sub>4</sub>), which are shown to be examples of inequality of rule. Both Lysias (18) and Demosthenes (25) refer to δυναστεῖαι, absolute governments, as undesirable. Thucydides is less explicit still, when he points to Athens' individuality in not imitating the constitutions of her neighbours, as other cities have done (37.1). Each author comes to the same conclusion, namely that Athens' democracy is superior to other systems, demonstrating this superiority through the themes which are discussed below, C, D and E.

C. Political freedom is the first and foremost characteristic of democracy. It has already been noted that ἐλευθερία was an important theme in topics (ii) and (iii), where Athens' ancestors fought for freedom from tyranny. Various aspects of freedom are considered by the different orators. Thucydides (37.2) emphasizes freedom for the individual to act in matters of government and also to carry out his own private business. Lysias speaks of freedom as an integral part of democracy (18). It was for ἐλευθερία that the Athenians drove out tyrants, so that in their freedom they could participate in the government of the city, ἐλευθέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο. (18). Plato does not specifically mention ἐλευθερία. The notion is implied, however, in οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δοῦλοι οὐδὲ δεσπόται ἀλλήλων εἶναι, "we do not think it right to be slaves or masters of one another" (239a<sub>1</sub>). Demosthenes draws attention to another aspect of freedom, namely παρρησία, freedom of speech (26), through which a citizen may serve his city. This is probably a reflection of his own



position as an orator and politician.

D. Equality before the law, *ἰσονομία*, is a particular aspect of *ἐλευθερία*. In Thucydides we find this theme used in both a legal and a political sense. The former appears in his definition (37.1) of democracy, where he states that under law all private disputes are equal: μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διαφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον. Equality in a political sense is found in the following words: "When it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which a man possesses.".<sup>41</sup>

In Plato, only the political sense of *ἰσονομία* appears (238e). He derives *ἰσονομία* from the fact that all Athenians were born equal, ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γένεσις, which is linked with εὐγένεια. This equality of birth is the basis for the constitution, αἰτία δὲ ἡμῶν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης. Other types of government, tyrannies or oligarchies, are ἀνώμαλοι, unstable, because of their unbalanced nature. Plato maintains that Athenian ἰσογονία, equality of birth, (cf. ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γένεσις) leads naturally to *ἰσονομία*. Now *ἰσονομία*, equality at a political level, is something which Plato attacks vigorously in the Republic. He decries *ἰσονομία* (558c) for "distributing a sort of equality to equal and unequal alike". The notion of *ἰσονομία* is also at odds with his previous remarks on βασιλεία and ἀριστοκρατία (238d<sub>1-2</sub>). The notion of aristocracy, even "with the people's approval", μετ'εὐδοξίας πλῆθους, suggests







neither ἰσονομία nor ἰσογονία. It seems to me that Plato is not entirely serious in the concluding sentence of his treatment of the topic (238e<sub>5</sub>-239a<sub>4</sub>), "... but the natural equality of birth compels us to seek for legal equality, and to recognize no superiority except in the reputation of virtue and wisdom." This sentence makes doubtful sense. The answer may lie in Plato's use of ἰσογονία, found only in this instance and once later in Dio Cassius.<sup>42</sup> It would appear that Plato himself has compounded the word from ἴσος and 'gen-'. We noted previously that he made much rhetorical use of words derived from the 'gen-' root in the topic of εὐγένεια, and since the topics of πολιτεία and εὐγένεια are closely connected, this composition of ἰσογονία seems to be a continuation of the word play. The similarity in sound of ἰσογονία and ἰσονομία would indicate that there is intentional punning in Plato's choice of words and we may note it as another example of Plato's irony.

Neither Lysias nor Demosthenes discusses the notion of equality before the law. Their accounts of πολιτεία are briefer than Thucydides' or Plato's, and thus they omit what is essentially an extension of the theme of freedom.

E. Thucydides (37.1,3) indicates that a democratic constitution (by his definition) results in a respect for the laws and justice, both in public and in private. It is not because the citizens are afraid, but because the law is set up to protect those who are wronged. In this he implies what Demosthenes states (25), namely that absolute governments maintain their power through fear, δέος. Fear results



in no respect for anything, which Demosthenes exemplifies by reference to failure of loyalties in times of stress;  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon\rho\tilde{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\text{--}\text{ov}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$  , "everyone gaily proceeds to save himself". Respect for the law, then, is a necessary part of democracy, and respect depends on the justice of that law. The two are almost inextricably bound together in Thucydides.

Lysias (18,19) considers justice as law through which the good are honoured and the evil punished,  $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omega\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\iota\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . Man, he says, establishes the limits of justice by means of law, unlike the wild beasts who live by the rule of force alone (19). The use of this comparison is unique to Lysias. Together with the sovereignty of the law, he stresses  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , reason, and the instruction of reason, inherent in democracy, which implicitly continues his comparison with the wild beasts.

Plato does not point to the value of justice and obedience to the law as such. As we noted in the previous theme, Plato's concluding sentence (239a<sub>3</sub>) to the topic seemed to make little sense. He maintains that the Athenians recognize no superiority except the "reputation" (whatever that may mean) of virtue and wisdom. His reference to  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$  is not related to the theme of justice found in the other authors, but simply placed in rhetorical antithesis to  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$ , without much sense attached.



## NOTES

- 1 For the importance and implications of εὐγένεια and autochthony see Aristotle Rhet. I 1360b<sub>31</sub>.
- 2 Thucydides (37-41) eulogizes contemporary Athens. See discussion page 109.
- 3 See, however, Lysias' treatment of the topic of constitution, II Topic (iv), and his reference there to the wild beasts, page 54.
- 4 See the summary of Demosthenes' section III, page 58.
- 5 See II Topic (ii) Theme H, page 30.
- 6 It was presumably Lysias' intention to give an elaborate glorification of Athens. He therefore gives more detail than the others and predominant themes may be repeated.
- 7 Topic (i) Theme A, page 19.
- 8 See III Topic (i) Theme E, page 68.
- 9 For Plato's adverse attitude to poetry and denunciation of the arts see Apology 21e, Republic 394c, 394e - 397c, 602a.
- 10 See Isocrates Panegyricus (83). Also, Hypereides (35) employs this notion in his comparison of Leosthenes with figures of the past.
- 11 The two were, of course, writing in the same period, but the dramatic date of the Menexenus must fall at the end of the 5th century; see page 117.
- 12 Lysias' naming of Myronides and Themistocles is the only instance of personal reference in the Epitaphioi Logoi before Hypereides.
- 13 Thuc. I 108.
- 14 See list, page 113f.
- 15 Lysias omits all events in the Peloponnesian War, apart from his allusion to Aegospotami (58).
- 16 Thuc. V 24.
- 17 See Thuc. VIII.



- 17 See Thuc. VIII.
- 18 See Plato Apology 32b, Xen. Hell. I 7.20.
- 19 i.e. 476 to 405 B.C.
- 20 Although Plato is anti-democratic in the Republic, note his comment on the rule of the Thirty in Epistle VII 324b<sub>8</sub>ff.
- 21 See page 115.
- 22 See G. Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton 1963) 158 ff., where an account of some of the different interpretations is given.
- 23 See pages 113 to 117.
- 24 II Topic (ii) Theme C, page 27.
- 25 II Topic (ii) Theme D, pages 27-28.
- 26 II Topic (ii) Theme F, page 29.
- 27 II Topic (ii) Theme F.
- 28 II Topic (iv) Theme E, page 53.
- 29 On the political attitudes see Kennedy, op. cit. 207 and 252.
- 30 II Topic (i) Theme A, page 19.
- 31 II Topic (ii) Theme H, page 30.
- 32 See page 10.
- 33 See page 115.
- 34 Thucydides expresses this notion (II 36.4).
- 35 See page 108.
- 36 II Topic (iii) Theme E, page 41.
- 37 II Topic (i) Theme C, page 20.
- 38 See page 52.
- 39 See page 58.
- 40 See D. Kagan, The Great Dialogue: History of Greek Political Thought from Homer to Polybius (New York 1965), chapter 5, 73ff.





- 18 See Plato Apology 32b, Xen. Hell. I 7.20.
- 19 i.e. 476 to 405 B.C.
- 20 Although Plato is anti-democratic in the Republic, note his comment on the rule of the Thirty in Epistle VII 324b<sub>8</sub>ff.
- 21 See page 115.
- 22 See G. Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton 1963) 158 ff., where an account of other interpretations is given.
- 23 See pages 113 to 117.
- 24 II Topic (ii) Theme C, page 27.
- 25 II Topic (ii) Theme D, pages 27-28.
- 26 II Topic (ii) Theme F, page 29.
- 27 II Topic (ii) Theme F.
- 28 II Topic (iv) Theme E, page 53.
- 29 On the political attitudes see Kennedy, op. cit. 207 and 252.
- 30 II Topic (i) Theme A, page 19.
- 31 II Topic (ii) Theme H, page 30.
- 32 See page 10.
- 33 See page 115.
- 34 Thucydides expresses this notion (II 36.4).
- 35 See page 108.
- 36 II Topic (iii) Theme E, page 41.
- 37 II Topic (i) Theme C, page 20.
- 38 See page 52.
- 39 See page 58.
- 40 See D. Kagan, The Great Dialogue: History of Greek Political Thought from Homer to Polybius (New York 1965), chapter 5, 73ff.
- 41 See Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War, translated by R. Warner (London 1954) 117.
- 42 See L.S.J. 837 under ἰσογονία.



## CHAPTER IV

### The Present Public Funeral

The third subdivision of the Epitaphioi Logoi is devoted to the present, to praising the dead for whom the ceremony is performed, and to consoling those who survive, parents and children alike. Each author incorporates this section in his speech, giving it more or less emphasis as he saw fit, or as tradition dictated. The distribution of the sections is as follows:

|             |                                      |       |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Thucydides  | 42-45                                | 38%   |
| Lysias      | 67-81                                | 16%   |
| Plato       | 246a <sub>5</sub> -249c <sub>6</sub> | 27.5% |
| Demosthenes | 13-37                                | 65%   |
| Hypereides  | 6-43                                 | 86%   |

Each of the sections may be summarized as follows:

|            |  |       |     |
|------------|--|-------|-----|
| Thucydides | (a) Praise of the men who died                   | 42-43 | 23% |
|            | (b) Consolation and exhortation to the survivors | 44-45 | 15% |
| Lysias     | (a) Praise of the men who died                   | 67-70 | 4%  |
|            | (b) Lament for the men who died                  | 71-76 | 7%  |
|            | (c) Consolation to the survivors                 | 77-81 | 5%  |



|             |     |   |                                      |       |
|-------------|-----|---|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Plato       | (a) | Introduction  | 246a <sub>5</sub> -246c <sub>7</sub> | 4%    |
|             | (b) | The words of the dead   | 246d <sub>1</sub> -248d <sub>6</sub> | 17%   |
|             | (1) | To their children   | 246d <sub>1</sub> -247c <sub>4</sub> |       |
|             | (2) | To their parents  | 247c <sub>5</sub> -248c <sub>7</sub> |       |
|             | (3) | To the city   | 248d <sub>1-6</sub>                  |       |
|             | (c) | Consolation and Exhortation                                   | 248d <sub>7</sub> -249c <sub>6</sub> | 6.5%  |
| Demosthenes | (a) | Praise of the men who died                                    | 13-31                                | 52%   |
|             | (1) | Introduction  | 13-15                                | 8.5%  |
|             | (2) | Education and attributes                                      | 16-18                                | 6.5%  |
|             | (3) | Behaviour in the battle                                       | 19-24                                | 16.5% |
|             | (4) | Constitution  | 25-26                                | 5.5%  |
|             | (5) | Tribal affiliations   | 27-31                                | 15%   |
|             | (b) | Consolation and Exhortation                                   | 32-37                                | 13%   |
| Hypereides  | (a) | Praise of the men who died                                    | 6-40                                 | 76%   |
|             | (1) | Introduction  | 6                                    | 2%    |
|             | (2) | Ancestry and education  | 7-9                                  | 6%    |
|             | (3) | Leosthenes and his<br>victories                               | 10-15                                | 14%   |
|             | (4) | His men; their bravery  | 15-19                                | 10%   |
|             | (5) | Speculation as to what<br>might have happened<br>without them | 20-22                                | 6%    |
|             | (6) | Leosthenes and his men;<br>their glory                        | 23-24                                | 25%   |
|             | (7) | Leosthenes compared with<br>heroes of the past                | 35-39                                | 11%   |
|             | (8) | Conclusion; orator's<br>exclamation                           | 40                                   | 2%    |



|     |                              |       |     |
|-----|------------------------------|-------|-----|
| (b) | Consolation to the survivors | 41-43 | 10% |
|-----|------------------------------|-------|-----|

This subdivision of the speech may be divided into two major topics:

- (i) Praise of the men who have just died.
- (ii) Consolation and Exhortation of the survivors.

The division is most apparent in the two later orators, Demosthenes and Hypereides. A large proportion of their speeches is given to the praise of the actual dead on the occasion of the speech, topic (i), (52% and 76% respectively). In doing so they have turned away from the "Glorification of Athens", predominant<sup>1</sup> in Thucydides, Lysias and Plato, to expand the section in praise of the men for whom the ceremony is performed. The consolation and exhortation of the survivors, topic (ii), does not occupy much more space in the speeches of Demosthenes and Hypereides than in the other speeches, apart from Thucydides who has the longest consolation (15%).

In Thucydides and Lysias the division into the two topics does exist, but the distinction is not as clearly defined as in Demosthenes and Hypereides. Praise, consolation and exhortation in Thucydides are to a certain extent mixed; e.g. he praises (44.3) the men's love of freedom, as something worth emulating, and then exhorts the survivors to do so. Lysias also includes in this section (III) of the speech words of lamentation for the dead. Lamentation is mentioned, only to be rejected, by the other authors.<sup>2</sup>

Plato's treatment of this section (III) of the speech differs largely from that of the other orators. He expresses consolation and





exhortation without directly dwelling on the deeds of the dead, or on their attributes. He is not writing for the dead of any one occasion. It is his overt purpose to demonstrate that an Epitaphios Logos may be delivered at any time for any dead, given that the orator has his stock of appropriate phrases to hand (235c). As an introduction to the section of consolation and exhortation, Plato again reminds his auditors of the many glorious deeds of the "men here interred" (246a<sub>5</sub>), in which category one may no doubt include the present dead. He proceeds to address the παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, "sons of brave men" (246b<sub>6</sub>), exhorting them to be ἄριστοι like their parents and ancestors. There follows a report of the words of the dead, words which the orator claims they desired to have repeated to their survivors, and which the survivors ought to imagine them speaking from Hades. In this speech Plato incorporates elements of praise as well as consolation. There do appear themes common to those found in the other authors under topic (i). These will be noted as they occur.

\* \* \*



(i) Praise of the men who died

In this topic common themes may be recognized despite the differing treatments of the subject. There are seven major themes as follows:

A. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, their ἀρετή.

(1) ἀρετή.

Thuc. II 42.2 (twice), 43.1; Lysias II 67,69;  
Dem LX 17,20 (twice), 21,23;  
Hyp. VI 8,9,15,18,19,23,24 (twice), 27,30,32,34,36,40.

(2) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί.

Thuc. II 42.3; Lysias II 69,70; Plato 246b<sub>6</sub>,246d<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 16; Hyp. VI 8,9,14,28,30 (twice), 31,34,40.

B. They are worthy of Praise and Remembrance, ἄξιοι  
ἐπαινεῖσθαι.

Thuc. II 42.2-3,43.2; Plato 246b<sub>3</sub>; Dem. LX 15;  
Hyp. VI 15 (thrice), 16,22,30 (twice), 32,33 (twice),  
34 (thrice).

C. They fought for Freedom, ἐλευθερία, opposing slavery,  
δουλεία.

(1) ἐλευθερία.

Thuc. II 43.4; Lysias II 68 (twice); Dem. LX 23,27;  
Hyp. VI 10,11,16 (twice), 19,25,34,37,40.

(2) δουλεία.

Lysias II 68; Hyp. VI 17,20,21.



D. They fought for Justice, δίκη , against injustice, ἀδικία.

Thuc. II 43.5; Lysias II 67 (twice); Dem. LX 26;  
Hyp. VI 20.

E. The Danger, κίνδυνος , and safety, σωτηρία.

(1) κίνδυνος.

Thuc. 42.4, 43.4; Lysias II 68; Plato 246c<sub>4</sub>;  
Dem. LX 18, 26, 29 (twice), 30,  
Hyp. VI 15, 17, 26, 29.

(2) σωτηρία.

Lysias II 68; Dem. LX 18, 27, 29; Hyp. VI 27, 38.

F. They chose a Noble Death, καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν εἴλοντο.

Thuc. II 42.3, 4, 43.2; Lysias II 69, 71; Plato 246d<sub>2</sub>;  
Dem. LX 27, 28; Hyp. VI 15, 16, 24, 40.

G. On speaking adequately.

Thuc. II 42.2; Plato 246a<sub>5</sub>-b<sub>2</sub>; Dem. LX 13, 15;  
Hyp. VI 23.

A. Just as Athenian ancestors<sup>3</sup> were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, displaying their ἀρετή, so are the present dead. Lysias (69) makes a close association between the two when he describes the men who died as having been trained in the excellences of their ancestors, ἐν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀγαθοῖς. They themselves are ἀγαθοί by implication, as a result of this training. Demosthenes also asserted this association of past and present (12) so that he could dispense with the past and praise the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί of past and present together. Thucydides links



(42.2) praises of the men who have died with his "Glorification of Athens" by the words (88), "... for what I praised in the city, the valorous deeds of these men and their like adorned."

The frequent repetition of this theme, and in particular ἀρετή, in Hypereides is due to his lengthy account of the deeds of Leosthenes and his men, which demonstrated their ἀγαθός nature. We noted that in Lysias' account of the historical ancestors<sup>4</sup>, there was frequent repetition of this theme. Just as Lysias' aim was to praise Athens' ancestors rather than the present dead, so the opposite is true of Hypereides. This constant praise of the men's ἀρετή bears a distinct resemblance to the technique of encomium.<sup>5</sup> Since, however, we find the same practice in Lysias, be it concerned with Athens' past rather than present, the encomiastic feature in the Epitaphios is not something new in Hypereides. His innovation is the praise of the individual in the Epitaphios Logos.

In two of the authors, Thucydides and Plato, one finds the notion that it is preferable to possess ἀρετή rather than great wealth. Thucydides (37) claimed that poverty should not be a hindrance to a man of ability in politics. In this topic it is implied (42.2) that the men who died did not let thoughts of obtaining wealth prevent them from fighting. Their ἀρετή prevailed over wealth.<sup>6</sup> In Plato (246e and 247b) the dead emphasize that wealth and beauty are useless, and even shameful, when one is a coward. With this notion they exhort their sons to follow their example of ἀρετή, implying its superiority to wealth.





B. One would assume that the purpose of delivering an Epitaphios Logos at a public funeral was to praise those being interred and demonstrate that they are worthy of praise and remembrance in the future. We have already observed the occurrence of the theme, worthiness of praise and remembrance, in the "Glorification of Athens" of Lysias and Plato. In his treatment of the present dead, however, Lysias does not specifically state that the men deserve praise and remembrance. He stresses, rather, that they are worthy of lamentation (71).<sup>7</sup> Plato (246b<sub>3</sub>) states that the descendants of the deceased ought to remember their ἀρετή and pass on to others the exhortation to valour. Since, however, Plato does not spend time praising the deeds of the dead, we do not find the repetition of ἄξιόν ἐστι ἐπαινεῖν, which was predominant in his section on ancestors.<sup>8</sup>

Demosthenes (13) repeats the notion found in his introduction (1) that he has been chosen to praise "these men". He expresses fear that in his eagerness he will not do justice to the praise of these men, and will create the opposite effect, τοῦνάντιον. Through this false modesty he implies that these men deserve great praise. He claims to have many fine examples of praiseworthy actions (15) for which they will receive their due.

The theme, worthiness of praise, appears at intervals (thirteen times) throughout Hypereides' narrative of the deeds of the present dead, in similar fashion to the repetition of this theme in Plato's praise of Athens' ancestors.<sup>8</sup> Hypereides stated in his introduction (3) that Leosthenes and his men are worthy of praise; this he demonstrates in his account. The repetition of the theme has not the effect of



ridicule, such as is in Plato, since there is a greater variety of vocabulary used; ἐπαινεῖν, ἔπαινος, ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἐγκώμιον, εὐλογία, μνήμη, ὕμνεῖν.

Thucydides' approach to the praise of the dead, as noted in his introduction, is one of reason and common sense. He states (42.2,3) that it was for the city that these men fought and died; this deserves remembrance above all else, δίκαιον...προτίθεσθαι. Doubtless they had their faults, but any evil, κακόν, is cancelled by their ἀρετή in fighting for their city. He does not claim that men are ἀγαθοί at all times, but in this way makes their worthiness of praise seem the greater.

C. That the Athenians fought and fight for freedom is again a dominant theme, common to four of the five authors. Since Plato is not describing the deeds of the dead, the notion does not appear. It is odd, however, that the "dead" in their "speech" make no mention of freedom at all. In Lysias' speech (68,69) the Athenians are presented as magnanimously risking their lives for the freedom of others, others who were once their enemy.<sup>9</sup> By praising the men who have died at Corinth in this way, he openly associates them with Athenian freedom-fighters of the past, on whose deeds he had spoken so profusely in section II of the speech.<sup>10</sup>

The theme of freedom occurs most frequently in Hypereides, since his account is the most lengthy. He also expresses the notion of slavery through repetition of ἀνάγκη, "compulsion" by which he alludes to the enforced subjugation of Greece planned by the Macedonians, which



Leosthenes and his men tried to avert. Hypereides also speaks of αὐτονομία, "independence" (25). He says that there can be no happiness, εὐδαιμονία without αὐτονομία. This is reminiscent of Thucydides (43.4), καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες, "judging freedom to be happiness and courage freedom". Hypereides' αὐτονομία would appear to be the equivalent of ἐλευθερία. The word αὐτονομία does not occur in the other funeral speeches. It is not synonymous with ἐλευθερία, but has more specific political connotations. Perhaps Hypereides uses the word in deliberate contrast to ἐλευθερία, since the latter had become an ideal concept representative of an Athens of the past. The Macedonian threat to Athens' political independence was very real, especially after Alexander's death. It is possible, however, that the motivation for using αὐτονομία was simply the similarity in sound of its ending to εὐδαιμονία.

D. We observed<sup>11</sup> that the theme of justice occurred frequently in Lysias' speech in his section on ancestors. In this topic, praise of the men who died, four of the five mention the theme, but none grants it much importance. It is lacking in Plato, just as the theme of freedom was. Lysias does state that the Corinthians were wronged by the Spartans, but instead of explaining that the Athenians helped them in the name of justice, he says that it was pity which prompted their action (67), οἳ δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἠλέουν. In Demosthenes the theme appears in that part of the speech in which he considers Athens' constitution (25-26). Justice is essential to democracy. He does not, however, link the theme with the cause for which the deceased





fought. In both Thucydides (43.5) and Hypereides (20) there are references to "wrong-doers". In each case it is implied that the Athenians are on the side of justice, but the fact is not specifically stated, nor given much emphasis.

E. The theme of κίνδυνος, danger, and σωτηρία, safety, is found in each author in this topic, as in the topic of ancestors in the previous subdivision of the speech (II). It appears more frequently in Demosthenes and Hypereides because of their emphasis on the present dead. The men who fought and died at Chaeroneia and in the Lamian War risked their lives for the common safety, κοινῇ σωτηρίᾳ, of Greece. "Common safety" is virtually the equivalent of the ἐλευθερία theme found in earlier authors. Demosthenes and Hypereides, both sharing influence in the anti - peace party<sup>12</sup>, hoped for united Greek opposition to Macedon, though admittedly under Athenian leadership. The concept of common safety could be applied equally to the situation of Athens during the Persian Wars, and hence we find the expression used by Demosthenes and Hypereides in this connection<sup>13</sup>, where previous authors had used ἐλευθερία. With regard to the present dead Demosthenes refers (18) to the men's instinct to save Greece and (27,29) to the examples of their tribal heroes who had saved their country; such examples had inspired the present dead. Hypereides does not specifically use the word, σωτηρία, but describes (27,28) a situation which implies the possibility of living in peace.

Thucydides (42.4) describes the men's facing danger to punish the foe as the finest thing they could do for the city. It was a





demonstration of their ἀρετή. There is no question of their own "safety". Plato's remark, however, (246c<sub>4</sub>), prefacing the supposed words of the dead, ...εἴ τι πάσχοιεν, ἥνίκα κινδυνεύσειν ἐμελλον, "should anything happen to them when they go to meet danger", may be ironical in tone, since his inclusion of the words of the dead is questionably serious.

As in the other themes in this topic, Lysias makes a close association between the danger faced by those who fought at Corinth and by the ancestors of the Athenians. It was not for their own safety alone that they endangered their lives, but for the glory of Greece and ἐλευθερία (68), just as the Athenians had done at Marathon (22,24).

F. It is part of the praise due to the dead to say that they chose a noble death on behalf of their country. Each author describes how the men who died, did so in noble fashion, demonstrating their noble character and their ἀρετή.

Thucydides expresses the notion thus (42.4): τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν κάλλιον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, "believing it a nobler thing to make a stand and suffer death than to yield and save their lives.". Thus they achieved their glory through the sacrifice of their own lives. He repeats the notion (43.2) in the words, κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα δίδοντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον, "for they gave their bodies for the common good and gained for themselves immortal praise.".



Lysias points out to his auditors that the men who died are enviable, ζηλωτοί (69). They risked death, thus displaying their ἀρετή and bringing benefits to the city (70). They died in a way that befits all ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί.

In Plato the opening words of the dead to the survivors consist of a carefully balanced antithesis on the theme of choice of noble death (246d<sub>1</sub>): ἡμῖν δὲ ἐξὸν ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, καλῶς αἶρου-μεθα μᾶλλον τελευτᾶν, "we chose rather to die nobly, when to live nobly was no longer possible."

Demosthenes also speaks of choosing to die in noble fashion. Given the noble birth with which the men were endowed, and the noble education which they had received, it was the only thing that they could do (27). This ideal serves as his introduction to the section on the tribal ancestors of the Athenians (27-31). He names the eponymous heroes of the ten Athenian tribes, showing how they set examples which the people of each tribe felt it their duty to emulate; for example, δεινὸν οὖν ἡγοῦντο τὴν ἐκείνου προδοῦναι προαίρεσιν, καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡροῦντο, (28) "they (the Aegeidae) thought it terrible to betray his precept, and chose rather to die than through love of life to live amongst the Greeks having destroyed it." "His precept" is Theseus' establishment of ἰσονομία.<sup>14</sup>

Hypereides expresses the theme of noble death several times. The men he praises were willing to face danger with their bodies, τοῖς σώμασιν, which in fact means the sacrifice of their lives (15). In the following section (16) we find that they gave their own souls for the freedom of Greece, οἳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν



Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας , for which they justly deserve praise. He expands the notion (24) in saying that those who died obtained immortal fame for their mortal bodies. In the conclusion to his praise of the dead (40) the orator utters exclamations on the bravery of the men. He hails the ἀρετή and the ἀνδραγαθία which they displayed in fighting for the common freedom of Greece. The papyrus<sup>15</sup> containing the text of Hypereides ends at this point (40), in mid sentence. The final exclamation seems to imply, if not lead up to, an expression of the sacrifice made by the men, or their preference of noble death to life.

G. As in the previous parts of the speech<sup>16</sup>, so in the "Praise of those who died", three of the orators find it necessary at some point to allude to their own ability or to the inadequacies of the speech and of time. Plato, when he turns to the "Present Funeral", commences with the words (246a<sub>5</sub>ff.): "as regards the very deeds of these men lying here ... many fine words have been spoken (by me) of them, much more and finer words have been left unsaid; for many days and nights would not be sufficient to complete the tale." The notions here expressed are strongly reminiscent of Lysias' words in his introduction (2), where we find "much has been said, and much left unsaid ...". The notion of time appeared twice in Lysias (1,54); "all time is insufficient ...". These notions, or variations thereof, must have been commonplace in the genre.

Demosthenes introduces his section on the present dead with an appeal to the εὐνοίᾳ, goodwill, of his auditors, Athenian and foreigner<sup>17</sup> alike (13-14). He fears that in his eagerness he may not praise the men



as he ought. He then declares (15) that he is at a loss where to begin, since his mind is overwhelmed with so many of their fine deeds. This is indirect praise of their deeds; the orator enhances the men's glory by pretended inability to choose from all their exploits.

Hypereides employs the same technique in the opening words of his praise of the present dead (6-9). He asks himself where he should begin. He does not limit his own ability at this point, but indicates the irrelevancy of certain topics. Later (23), however, he stresses the difficulty involved in giving an accurate picture of the hardships undergone by the men on campaign. This is an expression of the failure of words to meet the deeds of the dead, and also indirect praise of them for what they endured.

Thucydides referred in his introduction (35.1) to the difficulty of finding the correct balance in the praise given to the deceased in order to satisfy all. In his praise of the dead (42.2) he mentions that "there are not many Greeks whose fame is evenly balanced with their deeds". This is another example of Thucydides' common-sense approach<sup>18</sup> to the praise which the men deserve. Instead of claiming that words cannot match their deeds, he implies that the Athenians were superior to most other Greeks in that they do match whatever praise is granted to them.

In this part of the speech Lysias does not mention difficulties of speaking, or the inadequacy of words to match deeds. He has used this commonplace already (1,2,54) and presumably feels that it is unnecessary to repeat it again.







(ii) Consolation and Exhortation

In this topic we find the greatest conformity of themes amongst the five authors. There are ten themes as follows:

## A. Lamentation for the dead, ὀλοφύρεσθαι.

Thuc. II 44.1,2; Lysias II 71,74,77,78;  
Plato 247c<sub>7</sub>,248a<sub>7</sub>,248b<sub>6</sub>,248e<sub>5</sub>;  
Dem. LX 32,33,37; Hyp. VI 41 (twice),42,43.

## B. Bereavement of parents, etc., στερηθῆναι.

Thuc. II 44.2; Lysias II 71,72; Plato 247c<sub>7</sub>;  
Dem. LX 32 (twice), 36 (twice).

## C. Consolation of parents, etc., παραμυθεῖσθαι.

Thuc. II 44.1,3; Lysias II 77;  
Plato 247c<sub>5</sub>,247d<sub>2</sub>,248e<sub>2</sub>; Dem. LX 32,35;  
Hyp. VI 41.

## D. The men were fortunate in death, εὐδαίμονες.

Thuc. II 44.1,4; Lysias II 73,79,81;  
Plato 247a<sub>6</sub>,247e<sub>7</sub>; Dem. LX 32,33; Hyp. VI 42.

## E. They possess deathless fame, εὐκλεία ἀγήρων.

## (1) εὐκλεία.

Thuc. II 43.2; Lysias II 79,80,81;  
Dem. LX 32,36; Hyp. VI 42.

## (2) Praise and remembrance.

Lysias II 74,79; Plato 247e<sub>3</sub>,248c-d;  
Dem. LX 33,34(twice),36(twice),37; Hyp. VI 41,42 (twice).



F. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί , their ἀρετή .

(1) ἀρετή:

Lysias II 71,74,76,77,80,81; Plato 246e<sub>1</sub>,247a<sub>5</sub>,249b<sub>1</sub>;  
Dem. LX 36; Hyp. VI 41.

(2) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί.

Lysias II 77; Plato 246d<sub>1</sub>,246e<sub>1</sub>,247d, 248a;  
Dem. LX 34.

G. Emulation, μιμεῖσθαι.

Thuc. II 43.3; Lysias II 79;  
Plato 247a<sub>3</sub>, 248e<sub>5</sub>; Dem. LX 33.

H. Care of parents and children by the state.

Thuc. II 46.1; Lysias II 75;  
Plato 248c<sub>5</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>, 248e<sub>4</sub>-249a<sub>5</sub>,249b<sub>6</sub>-c<sub>3</sub>;  
Dem. LX 34; Hyp. VI 42, (27).

I. The Public Funeral and Games.

Lysias II 80; Plato 249b<sub>5</sub>; Dem. LX 36.

J. Afterlife.

Plato 246c<sub>5</sub> ff.; Dem. LX 34; Hyp. VI 43.

A. After praising the dead and their valour (67-70), Lysias declares (71) that the men who died merit the lamentation of those who have survived them, ὥστε ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους ποθεῖν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλοφύρεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν τοῦ ἐπιλοιποῦ βίου , "therefore it is fitting that



the living should yearn for these men and grieve for themselves and pity the kin of these men in their remaining life.". His following words are concerned mainly with this yearning and grief of, and for, the parents and relatives (71-76). Lysias alone of those who composed *Epitaphioi Logoi*, dwells on the theme of lamentation at any length. Only in 77 does he say that he does not know why one need grieve so much, being aware of the mortality of human existence. In this way he begins his consolation.

The notion of unnecessary grief, however, forms the basis for the use of this theme by the other authors. Thucydides (44.1) stresses the need for consoling the parents, not grieving with them. He also realizes the difficulty involved in trying to persuade people not to grieve; one is affected not by the loss of something never possessed, but by the loss of something one has known and loved (44.2).

Plato, in the reported speech of the dead, also requests that there be consolation rather than lamentation (247c<sub>7</sub>). To this notion he applies the Chilonic precept *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, "nothing in excess"; that is neither too much joy, nor too much sorrow. It is more fitting to honour, *κοσμεῖν*, than to mourn, *θρηνεῖν*, (248b,c).

Demosthenes (32 ff.) gives a reasoned account as to why the dead should be happy. All Greece mourns their loss and the country is desolate. His arguments for their being happy (cf. Themes D, E) are aimed at the consolation of the auditors and distraction from their grief, in order that they might realize that their sorrow is unnecessary.

Hypereides expresses both the notion that grief must be limited, *ὀπισμὸν* (41), and that there is difficulty in consoling people in



their distress (41).

Lysias' emphasis on the lamentation over the dead is unique amongst the extant speeches.  $\theta\rho\tilde{\eta}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in the sense of general lamentation, indubitably occurred throughout the ceremony.  $\theta\rho\tilde{\eta}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in the sense of a formal composition<sup>19</sup>, or dirge, such as we find in the lyric poetry of Pindar or Simonides, and embodied in the choral passages of the tragedians, may or may not have been part of the ceremony. Scholars assume<sup>20</sup> that it was the predecessor of the Epitaphios Logos. As a theory this notion of the ancestry of the Epitaphios Logos is a tempting one, but unfortunately evidence is lacking. One must suppose that emphasis on lamentation and grief was a matter of personal choice, and that perhaps most authors preferred to diminish, rather than intensify, the grief of those present.

B. The reason for grief or lamentation is the loss or bereavement suffered. Parents have been bereaved of children, and children of parents. All of the authors refer to this notion. Thucydides, Lysias and Demosthenes employ the verb  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ , to bereave, or compounds thereof, together with the adjective  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tilde{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , deserted. Plato simply refers to  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , misfortune (247c<sub>7</sub>). Hypereides implies the notion in  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\varsigma} \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ , "those people in such an emotional state" (41). He does not make any specific mention of bereavement.

C. Each of the authors attempts to console the parents and relatives for their loss. All except Lysias maintain that it is better





to console than lament (cf. Theme A). The stock word for "console" is considered<sup>21</sup> to be παραμυθεῖσθαι. It is used by Thucydides, Plato and Hypereides, but not by Lysias and Demosthenes. Lysias concludes his section on the lamentation (77) and proceeds to his consolatory sentiments simply by saying he does not know why there should be so much grief, without using the verb παραμυθεῖσθαι. Demosthenes uses κουφίζειν, to alleviate, rather than παραμυθεῖσθαι.

Thucydides (44.2), Demosthenes (35) and Hypereides (41) also mention the difficulties in persuading the bereaved through words that the dead were in fact fortunate, and that they ought to accept the consolations of the orator and cease their lamenting; lengthy lamentation becomes pointless.

D. A major theme employed to console the bereaved is to remind them that those who died were εὐδαίμονες, fortunate or happy in their death. The notion of fortune, expressed in compound words in εὖ- is found frequently in Thucydides; for example, εὐδαιμονία, εὐτυχής, εὐπρεπέστατος, εὐκλεῖα (44,45). This repetition creates a tone of great optimism, which reflects his praise of Athens in the previous section (37,41). The notion of good fortune is also extended by Thucydides to the survivors; those who now grow old have been fortunate in their lives (44.4).

Lysias (73,79,81), Demosthenes (32,33) and Hypereides (42) all express the notion that the dead are fortunate in terms of the renown they have acquired through their action in battle, fighting for Greek freedom. They are also fortunate in being released from physical ills.



Plato employs the theme of good fortune, but applies it to the survivors (247e<sub>7</sub>) in a general statement on moderation: "the man who is temperate, valiant and wise, who can accept the death of his own kin without excessive grief, is fortunate.". In the exhortation to the survivors through the reported words of the dead, Plato gives an unusual twist to the notion that the dead are happy. It will bring them εὐδαιμονία, happiness (247a<sub>7</sub>) if their ἀρετή is surpassed by the ἀρετή of those who survive. This reversal of what is apparently the traditional use of the theme may be another example of the irony we have already observed elsewhere in Plato's speech.

E. The deathless fame which the dead have achieved through their exploits is one reason why the survivors should feel consoled and not so inclined to grief. This theme appears in Thucydides (43.2,3) in what is strictly speaking topic (i), where he describes the earth as an eternal monument to the men who died. The men sacrificed their lives, winning for themselves τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον, deathless praise, and ἡ δόξα...ἀείμνηστος, glory that is ever remembered.

Lysias, Demosthenes and Hypereides all express the notion of the immortal fame of the deceased, making rhetorical play out of the natural antithesis between the men's mortal nature, but immortal fame. We find in Lysias (80): οἱ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν. "They are mourned through their nature as mortals, but praised through their ἀρετή as immortals.". Demosthenes (32) claims that they exchange for "a little time, an eternity of renown", ἀντὶ μικροῦ



χρόνου πολὺν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντ' εὐκλειαν ἀγήρω. Hypereides  
 (42) creates a contrasting balance with εἰ δὲ γήρως θνήσκου μὴ μετ-  
 εσχον , ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον ... "they had no part of  
 death in old age, but have acquired fame without age."

There are also references in all authors to praise and remem-  
 brance, a theme observed in the other sections and topics of the speech.<sup>22</sup>  
 The theme does not require further notice, except for Plato's treatment.  
 Plato (247a<sub>7</sub>), in the reported words of the dead, urges the survivors to  
 surpass their predecessors in renown. We already noted (Theme D) the  
 transference of the notion of being fortunate or happy from the dead to  
 the survivors. In both instances the words presuppose that the dead  
 possess the attributes. The auditor is expected to make the inference.  
 Elsewhere Plato refers to praise, honour and remembrance of the dead, as  
 noted in the list of themes.<sup>23</sup>

F. The ἀρετή of the men who died is again considered in this  
 topic in similar fashion to its appearance in previous topics. Note-  
 worthy is Thucydides' reference to ἀρετή in connection with the  
 survivors (45.1), namely to the possibility of the sons and brothers of  
 the deceased attaining ἀρετή but not as great as that of the deceased.  
 This is indirect praise of their ἀρετή inasmuch as it is insurpassable.  
 He also stresses that the ἀρετή of women is neither to be praised nor  
 censured by men (45.2).<sup>24</sup>

G. The notion of emulation appeared in Plato's prooimion to his  
 Epitaphios Logos.<sup>25</sup> All but Hypereides make use of the theme in this





topic, as part of the exhortation to the survivors. As we have already seen in Plato's treatment of themes D and E, his chief concern lies with the survivors in his report of the words of the dead. The survivors must, if possible, surpass their predecessors (247a<sub>3</sub>), not merely equal their deeds. In the orator's own words to the survivors (248e ff.) he repeats some of the notions already "spoken" by the dead and calls upon the survivors to emulate the dead. Thucydides (43.3) asks the survivors to emulate the principles of the deceased, namely to equate freedom with happiness, although he admits that they may not achieve the standard set by the deceased (45.1). Both Lysias (79) and Demosthenes (33) assert that the deeds of the men inspire emulation in the survivors.

Hypereides, in his part of the speech devoted to consolation (41-43), lays most emphasis on the dead and little on the survivors. This would indicate that Hypereides' purpose differed from his predecessors. He does not, therefore, need to call those who remain to emulation of the dead.

H. Care of the parents and children of those who died in war is an important aspect of the exhortation to the survivors. All five authors consider the theme. Three of them, Thucydides, Plato and Hypereides, indicate that this ἐπιμέλεια was in the hands of the State. It seems to have been a long established custom.<sup>26</sup> Thucydides (46.1) mentions the theme in his ἐπίλογος, or conclusion.<sup>27</sup> There he speaks only of the children, since he has previously spoken to the parents (44), with words of encouragement in particular to produce more children. One assumes he thought it unnecessary to refer to their being cared for by the state in their old age.





Of all the authors Plato devotes the largest portion of his speech to this theme. We observe it repeated in three parts of the consolation (248c<sub>5</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>, 248e<sub>4</sub>-249a<sub>5</sub>, 249b<sub>6</sub>-c<sub>3</sub>). I would interpret<sup>28</sup> this concern with the care of parents and children as an instance of Plato's de-emphasis of the position of the actual dead in the Epitaphios Logos. We already noted<sup>29</sup> that he omits the section concerned with their praise and that this is part of his irony in ridiculing the practice. The same seems to be true of his treatment of the consolation.

I. The funeral in public, δημοσίᾳ, and the games, ἀγῶνες are mentioned by Lysias (80), Plato (249b<sub>5</sub>) and Demosthenes (36) to remind the parents and relatives of one way in which the city honours the departed. Demosthenes (36) states σεμνὸν δὲ...μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἐπιδεῖν "they are proud to look upon the dead possessing public memorial to their ἀρετή". The honours granted by the city included the ceremony at which the speech was delivered. Plato (249b<sub>3</sub>) mentions that this ceremony was a yearly occasion<sup>30</sup>, which included athletic and musical contests.

Plato, Lysias and Demosthenes also refer to games accompanying the ceremony. The custom of funeral games seems to have originated in Mycenaean times<sup>31</sup>, when athletic meetings were held primarily at funerals, no doubt as a release from grief for the bereaved. By the 5th century the great athletic meetings were connected with religious festivals, especially at Olympia. In the Epitaphioi Logoi, however, we have evidence for the existence of athletic games as part of the



funeral ceremonies in 5th and 4th century Greece. Although the orators mention them as being in honour of the dead, one may assume that they still acted as a release from grief for the survivors as well.

J. In three of the orators, Plato, Demosthenes and Hypereides, there are allusions to a life after death for the deceased, not only in their immortal fame, but also in their dwelling in the realms of Hades. It has often been said that the Epitaphioi Logoi are noteworthy for the absence of any theme of after-life as a consolation, a theme which is expected by those educated in a Christian tradition. Admittedly there is more emphasis placed on the immortality of the men's fame amongst the living, rather than on the immortality of their souls in another world. Plato's report of the words of the dead does presuppose a belief in after-life. Irony, however, is apparent in this use of the rhetorical device of prosopopoeia. It becomes almost a reductio ad absurdum to have the dead themselves speak a portion of the speech which is supposedly delivered over them.

The references in Demosthenes and Hypereides follow a more conventional path. The dead in Demosthenes' account (34) find happiness, being ranked with heroes of the past in the Isles of the Blessed, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. Hypereides (43) expresses the notion that the dead will find the help and protection of the gods, if there is a Hades. This is a more hesitant expression of belief in an after-life on the orator's part. It does indicate, however, that there was a belief prevalent at that time, and that his audience expected him to say words to that effect, whether he himself believed it or not.



## NOTES

- 1 See page 15.
- 2 See Topic (ii) Theme A, page 75.
- 3 See III Topic (ii) Theme C, Topic (ii) Theme C.
- 4 See page 40.
- 5 See Th. Burgess, "Epideictic Literature" Studies in Classical Philology III ( Chicago 1902) 118f.
- 6 In this reference to wealth there is perhaps an allusion to bribery; cf. the charge made against Pericles, discussed by A.W.Gomme, A historical commentary on Thucydides: Books II,III, (Oxford 1956) 184f.
- 7 See III Topic (ii) Theme A, page 73.
- 8 II Topic (iii) Theme D, page 41.
- 9 Corinth was at one time ally of Sparta, during the Peloponnesian War, and later.
- 10 See page 15. 75% of Lysias' speech is devoted to the glorification of the past.
- 11 See II Topic (ii) Theme F, page 29, and II Topic (iii) Theme F, page 42.
- 12 Note, however, that Hypereides prosecuted Demosthenes in 323 and the policies of the two diverged . cf. O.C.D. 331.
- 13 II Topic (ii) Theme E, Topic (iii) Theme E.
- 14 See Plutarch, Theseus XXV.
- 15 See H. Caffiaux, De l'Oraison Funèbre dans la Grèce païenne (Paris 1861) 125f. for details on the papyrus.
- 16 See I Theme D, page 9; II Topic (iii) Theme J, page 46.
- 17 I read ἔξω γένους in the sense "outside the race" applying to non-Athenians; cf. Dem. XXIII 24.
- 18 See page 9.
- 19 As in the lyric fragments of Simonides or Pindar, or the choral odes of tragedy. See Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, R.E. II,ii 596.



- 20 See F.J.Snell, Lysias' Epitaphios (Oxford 1887) 8f., Burgess, op. cit. 147.
- 21 See Burgess, op. cit. 156. The term is used by Menander in his περὶ ἐπιταφίων, but with reference to private compositions.
- 22 I Theme B, page 6; II Topic (ii) Theme D, page 28, Topic (iii) Theme D, page 40; III Topic (i) Theme B; page 64.
- 23 See page 72.
- 24 See Gomme, op.cit. 143.
- 25 See page 7.
- 26 See Aeschines, Against Ctesiphon 154, and Anaximenes, Rhet. ad Alex. II 1421b<sub>35</sub>.
- 27 See page 86.
- 28 See P. Huby, "The Menexenus reconsidered", Phronesis 2 (1957) 104-114, where stress is layed on this aspect in her somewhat out-landish interpretation that the Menexenus is a pamphlet in defence of expenditure on war orphans by the State.
- 29 See page 60.
- 30 See Dem. In Lept. 141. cf. Thuc. II 34, where he says that the ceremony took place each year when it was felt needed. This could in practice have been every year, particularly during the Peloponnesian War. After the war perhaps the ceremony remained a yearly event.
- 31 See H.A.Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics (London 1964) 35, although he does not mention the references to funeral games in the Epitaphioi Logoi.





## CHAPTER V

### The Epilogos of the Epitaphios Logos

As formal speeches the Epitaphioi Logoi have a section which forms the ἐπίλογος or Conclusion<sup>1</sup>, corresponding to the προοῖμιον or Introduction. It appears in only four of the five extant speeches; no epilogos has survived from Hypereides' speech.<sup>2</sup>

There are three common themes in the Conclusion, as follows:

A. Reference to mourning, ἀπολοφυράμενοι.

Thuc. II 46.2; Lysias II 81; Plato 239c<sub>7,8</sub>;  
Dem. LX 37.

B. Reference to the custom or law, νόμος.

Thuc. II 46.1; Lysias II 81; Plato 239c<sub>7</sub>;  
Dem. LX 37.

C. A command to depart, ἄπιτε.

Thuc. II 46.2; Plato 239c<sub>8</sub>; Dem. LX 37.

A. Each of the authors makes reference to mourning, or lamentation. Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes bid their auditors depart, having made their lamentation, using an almost identical formula:

ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἄπιτε (Thuc. 46.2, Plato 239c<sub>7,8</sub>) and ἀποδυράμενοι...ἄπιτε (Dem. 37). Since these three authors do not



incorporate an actual lament in their speeches, one may assume that they refer either to a dirge which was part of the ceremony, or to personal mourning accompanying the speech<sup>3</sup>, ὥς προσήκει ἐκάστῳ "as befits each man" (Thuc. 46.2). The funeral speech would seem to be more of a eulogy and a consolation than a lament.

Lysias alone dwells on the subject of lamentation, as we already observed.<sup>4</sup> It was suggested that it was optional, or a matter of personal choice, whether an orator included or dismissed the lament. The latter would be the case when the orator felt it his duty to alleviate grief, rather than intensify it. Lysias, however, stresses in his conclusion that one must follow the custom and mourn for the departed. He does not suggest any termination of the grief. In this respect he clearly differs from the other authors.

B. Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes mention that the speech has been delivered in accordance with the custom, or law, νόμος. The question of the νόμος has been considered in the discussion of the Introductions of the Epitaphioi Logoi.<sup>5</sup> Lysias calls his auditors to follow the ancestral custom, πατρὶος νόμος,<sup>6</sup> and bewail those who are receiving burial. His allusion to the νόμος is concerned with the practice of state burial in public ceremony, and not specifically with the delivery of the speech, as is the case in the other orators. This omission of a reference to the speech coincides with his emphasis on the aspect of lamentation, and also with the fact that he makes no mention of the custom in his Introduction (1-3).



C. The command to depart is found in Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes. This notion suggests that the Epitaphios Logos was delivered at the end of the ceremony. The speech could well have been intended in part as final encouragement to those who had attended the funeral. Lysias omits this theme, making his last words a reminder that the dead should be mourned. There is no apparent reason why Lysias was concerned rather with lamentation than encouragement, other than that of personal choice.

\* \* \*

Thucydides' Conclusion (46) is longer than the others, since he incorporates into it the notion that the city will look after the children of the dead.<sup>7</sup> He leaves his auditors with an optimistic note, that under state care these orphans will grow to manhood, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα, "the state thus offering a beneficial crown both to these dead and to the survivors, in contests such as these". Such a prize produces the best citizens, ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσιν. With these words of encouragement, though somewhat materialistic, he bids the mourners depart, to live on with fresh hope in theirs, the fairest city.



## NOTES

- 1 Aristotle Rhet. 1419b<sub>10</sub> .
- 2 The final portion of Hypereides (41-43) is derived from Stobaeus Florilegia 124.36, and is incomplete. I assume it to belong to the consolation, i.e. section III, Topic (ii), to which there would no doubt be a brief epilogos added.
- 3 See III Topic (ii) Theme A, page 75.
- 4 See page 74.
- 5 See I Theme F, page 11.
- 6 See Thuc. II 43. Like Thucydides, Lysias accepts the antiquity of the custom.
- 7 See III Topic (ii) Theme H, page 79.





## CHAPTER VI

### Gorgias and Lycurgus

#### (a) Gorgias

The fragment of Gorgias (Diels II 86.6)<sup>1</sup> is included here on account of its being commonly<sup>2</sup> regarded as a portion of his Funeral Oration.<sup>3</sup> The reasons for regarding it as such are largely unsubstantiated. They are, as far as I have been able to discover, based upon internal evidence alone; certain of the notions contained in the fragment are reminiscent of themes found in an Epitaphios Logos, as will be demonstrated and explained shortly. No ancient commentator states that it is from a Funeral Oration delivered by Gorgias. In addition, it does not exist in the manuscript of an ancient author. Maximus Planudes<sup>4</sup> cites it in his commentary on Hermogenes<sup>5</sup>, or from Syrianus<sup>6</sup> commentary on Hermogenes, stating that Hermogenes got it from Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>7</sup> Finding no certain lineage, therefore, unlike my predecessors, I am not prepared to accept the assumption that the fragment belongs to an Epitaphios of Gorgias entirely without question.

I shall first give a literal translation of the fragment.

"... What quality was lacking in these men which ought to be present in men? What quality was there which should not have been? May I have the power to speak as I would, and the will to speak as I should, avoiding the jealousy

5 of the gods and escaping the envy of men. For these men



possessed ἀρετῇ that was divine, but human mortality,  
 often preferring mildness to stern justice, often the  
 uprightness of reasoning to the strictures of the law;  
 they considered that this was the most sacred and uni-  
 10 versal law - namely to speak and be silent, to do and let  
 be; two duties they practised above all, strength of  
 mind and strength of body - the one in deliberation, the  
 other in execution; they protected those who by injustice  
 were unfortunate, they punished those who by injustice  
 15 were fortunate; they were strict in the face of profit,  
 eventempered in the face of propriety, stopping stupidity  
 by sensible opinion; they were insolent to the insolent,  
 honourable to the honourable, fearless to the fearless,  
 cunning amongst the cunning: and to witness these facts  
 20 they set up the trophies of their enemies, offerings to  
 Zeus and statues to these men; nor were they inexperienced  
 in natural strife, nor natural desires, nor armoured battle,  
 nor beauty-loving peace; they were proud before the gods  
 out of justice, reverent towards their parents out of care,  
 25 just towards their fellow citizens through equality, right-  
 eous towards their friends through trust. Consequently  
 these men have died, but our longing for them has not died  
 with them; it is itself deathless, living in bodies that  
 are not deathless, when they no longer live ...".

The content of the passage is praise of a group of men who  
 have died. The introductory words of Planudes (Syrianus) assert that



the passage is in praise of Athenians who acted bravely in war. Strangely, the author concentrates on the admirable qualities of the men as citizens, not as warriors.

Themes that are parallel with those common to the Epitaphioi Logoi are as follows:

- A.           The men's ἀρετή (line 6).  
              cf. I, C; II, (ii) C, (iii) C; III, (i) A, (ii) F.
  
- B.           Justice and protection of the wronged (lines 3-14, 24).  
              cf. II, (ii) F, (iii) F, (iv) E; III, (i) D.
  
- C.           Regard for parents (line 24).  
              cf. III, (ii) H.
  
- D.           The immortality of their remembrance (lines 26 to end).  
              cf. III, (ii) E.

We may note, therefore, that there do exist themes parallel to those of the Epitaphioi Logoi, and in particular with the third section, the "Present Public Funeral". There are, however, noteworthy differences in the treatment of these themes, in comparison to those of the Epitaphioi Logoi.



A. In this theme, the men's ἀρετή is not restricted to the sense of "valour of war". The author refers to the men's general excellence (line 6), and proceeds to demonstrate what he means in the following lines.

B. On the question of justice, we find that the theme is concerned with the men's conduct as citizens, and not as soldiers (lines 13-14 and 24). This civil context is parallel to the theme of justice in Thucydides (37) or Demosthenes (25-26), where they discuss justice in relation to democracy.<sup>8</sup> We note, however, that the author stresses the men's leniency as opposed to strict enforcement of the law, a notion which is removed from the theme of justice as it appears in the Epitaphioi Logoi.

C. Regard for parents (line 24) is in fact a reference to the men's general respect towards their parents and not in the sense of the city's care for the parents of the deceased.

D. The πόθος ἀθάνατος is similar to the theme of deathless fame which appears in the consolation section of the Epitaphioi Logoi. The antithesis of mortal men possessing immortal praise seems to have been commonplace.

Themes which are not to be found in the Epitaphioi Logoi are:

- 1) uprightness of reason; 2) knowledge of discretion; 3) ability to deliberate and act;<sup>9</sup> 4) self-restraint and even-temper: 5) common sense;





6) justified pride; 7) sense of equality and loyalty. All these themes portray the citizens' conduct in time of peace. The author also mentions the men's ability to face the insolent, the fearless and the cunning with the same qualities, as well as the honourable with honour (lines 17-19). In this connection he states that they have set up trophies of their victories (line 20). The following statement that they were not inexperienced in war, etc., is extremely odd; if the passage is supposed to praise the valorous in war, the author must be indulging in irony at this point.

If, then, one accepts from the meagre internal evidence that this passage does belong to Gorgias' Epitaphios Logos, whether as part of praise of the present or past dead, it is a very odd passage in comparison to the other Epitaphioi Logoi.



(b) Lycurgus

In the speech Against Leocrates, Lycurgus, as speaker for the prosecution, introduces a section (46-51) praising the dead of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.), which bears certain resemblances to an Epitaphios Logos. The similarity suggests that the author may have had such a speech in mind when composing his narration and proof. His purpose is to show that the praises of the brave are condemnation of men of the opposite character (46). Such themes as belong to the praises of the dead were uncommon in forensic speeches, which fact Lycurgus recognizes in his appeal to the jury to listen, "forbearing to think such words are alien to public court-cases".

We may consider the passage as parallel to the third section of an Epitaphios Logos, namely the "Present Public Funeral", and to the first topic within that section, "Praise of those who died". Themes which are reminiscent of that part of an Epitaphios are as follows:

A. The fact that the men were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί ; their ἀρετή.

(1) ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί 46(twice), 48, 49, 51.

(2) ἀρετή 48, 49, 50.

(3) ἀνδρεία 47, 51.

cf. III, Topic (i) Theme A.

B. They deserve Praise and Honour .

46, 51.

cf. III, Topic (i) Theme B.



C. They fought for Freedom, opposing slavery.

47,48,49(twice),50(twice).

cf. III, Topic (i) Theme C.

D. The Danger they encountered, and safety.

46(twice),47,48,50.

cf. III, Topic (i) Theme E.

E. They chose a Noble Death.

47,49,50.

cf. III, Topic (i) Theme F.

These themes differ very little from their counterparts in the III Topic (i) of the Epitaphioi Logoi. One might mention under theme C, on the notion of freedom, that Lycurgus declares (50) that the freedom of Greece is buried with the bodies of the men who died. This could be a euphemistic expression of Athens' defeat. On the other hand, this exact notion is found in Lysias' speech (60), where he says that it would have been fitting for all Greece to come and mourn over the Athenians defeated by the Persians and Spartans, since Greek freedom was buried with them. Demosthenes maintains (23) that the freedom of Greece was preserved by the sacrifice of the men's lives, the same men to whom Lycurgus refers. Both Demosthenes and Lycurgus<sup>10</sup> use the same elements of the theme, but arrive at different conclusions. The latter reflects the pessimism of Lysias, rather than the more optimistic outlook of Demosthenes.



On the theme of noble death (Theme E) we note that Lycurgus expands the notion of sacrifice of life (cf. Thuc. II 43.1), when he declares that the men believed their own bodies were a surer defence than stone barriers (47).

There are certain notions which reflect themes from other subdivisions or topics of an Epitaphios Logos. These are as follows:

F. Loyalty to the land in which they were born.

48

cf. II, Topic (i) Theme A. (Autochthony)

G. The Athenians were alone in their achievement.

50

cf. II, Topic (iii) Theme I.

H. They were victorious in their death.

49

cf. III, Topic (ii) Theme D. (Fortunate in death)

F. It would seem that Lycurgus was influenced by the theme of autochthony in his involved argument (48) that "Just as not everyone is equally well inclined towards natural and adopted parents, so too are they rather ill-disposed towards lands not belonging to them naturally, but later acquired.". In other words Lycurgus expresses a notion which appears in Demosthenes' treatment of the εὐγένεια topic (4), namely his comparison of aliens to a city being like τοὺς εἰσπολητούς ,





adopted children. In Demosthenes we find that the fact of Attica being the natural parent of the Athenians explains their loyalty to her. Foreigners who have not been born there are not so inclined to fight for an adopted parent.

G. Lycurgus points to Athenian individuality with respect to their desire of preserving freedom (50). This theme appears in subdivision II of the Epitaphioi Logoi, on the subject of historical ancestors. It is absent from subdivision III of the Epitaphioi Logoi for no apparent reason.

H. The notion that the dead were victorious in their death may be compared with the consolatory theme of their being fortunate, εὐδαίμονες, in death, found in subdivision III, topic (ii) of the Epitaphioi Logoi. One also finds a similar notion in Demosthenes' discussion (19) of victory and defeat, in which he shows that the dead demonstrated their ἀρετή by dying.

There are notions in Lycurgus' speech which do not appear in the Epitaphioi Logoi; for example, he draws to the attention of the Athenians that they alone know how to honour ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί (51). He compares Athens with other cities. The latter have set up statues to athletes in their agoras, whereas Athenians honour their generals thus. In fact few were honoured thus.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps he alludes to Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Nevertheless, whether accurate or not, the notion is an example of something not found in the Epitaphioi Logoi.



It may be seen from the above account of the themes in Lycurgus' praise of the dead that he makes use of themes from the appropriate subdivision of an Epitaphios Logos, together with a few individual notions. The passage is hardly as Dobson<sup>12</sup> says "nothing but a condensed funeral speech ...". There is no "Glorification of Athens", no "Consolation and Exhortation". If anything it is a condensation of the section which praises the dead; no more.

## NOTES

- 1 H. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (Berlin 1956) II 285.
- 2 See F. Blass, op. cit. I 59,60.  
H. Caffiaux, "Sur le fragment d'Oraison Funèbre attribue a Gorgias" R.E.G. 1 (1888) 328.  
H. Diels, op. cit. 285.  
W. Vollgraff, L'Oraison Funèbre de Gorgias (Leiden 1952) 1.
- 3 Philostratus, Lives of the sophists I 9, refers to an Epitaphios delivered by Gorgias.
- 4 A 13th century monk of Byzantium: see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, R.E., XX ii 2202.
- 5 A 2nd century A.D. rhetorician: see Ch. Walz, Rhetores Graeci V (Stuttgart 1832) 458-551.
- 6 A 5th century A.D. rhetorician.
- 7 See H. Usener and L. Radermacher Dionysius Halicarnasseus : Opuscula I (Leipzig 1899, reprint Stuttgart 1965) 127f.
- 8 See II Topic (iv) Theme E, page 53.
- 9 See, however, Thuc. II 40.3.



- 10 For a comparison of Demosthenes' Epitaphios and Lycurgus 46-51, see P. Maas, "Zitate aus Demosthenes' Epitaphios bei Lykurgos" Hermes LXIII (1928) 258-260.
- 11 Few were honoured thus: see A. Petrie Lycurgus: The Speech Against Leocrates (Cambridge 1922) 116.
- 12 See J.F. Dobson, The Greek Orators (London 1919) 112.

#### Appendix to Chapter VI

In addition to the excerpts from Gorgias and Lycurgus there is a passage in Herodotus Histories (IX 27) that bears some relationship to the Epitaphioi Logoi. Herodotus reports the debate between the Athenians and the Tegeans over their positions on the battle-field at Plataea (479 B.C.). Each party claims precedence over the other by recalling the exploits of their respective ancestors. The three mythological examples employed by the Athenians are precisely those that constitute topic (ii) of the "Glorification of Athens" in the Epitaphioi Logoi (page 23 ff). The appearance of these myths in such a speech does not necessarily prove reliance on an Epitaphios Logos, but hints at a set tradition of mythological examples. The Athenians also draw attention to the battle of Marathon (cf. II Topic (iii) Theme B). Since, however, this was a recent victory (490 B.C.), it is only natural that the Athenians include it as a glorious exploit of the past.



## CHAPTER VII

### Conclusion

From the preceding discussion of common themes and topics found in the Epitaphioi Logoi it should be possible to determine the nature of an Epitaphios Logos. We may conclude that the common elements noted and listed below indicate the traditional and distinctive features such as any author wishing to compose an Epitaphios Logos would adopt and adapt to his own particular occasion. It has been observed that the major subdivisions and topics are common to all authors, but that differences occur with regard to emphasis placed on those subdivisions and topics, and also to the treatment of themes within them. The conclusion will, therefore, fall into two parts: i) the nature of an Epitaphios Logos; ii) summary of the individual authors' treatment of the Epitaphios Logos.

#### i) The nature of an Epitaphios Logos.

To summarise the characteristic features of the speech we shall begin with a list of the subdivisions, topics and themes considered in the previous chapters, as follows:

#### I. Introduction.

A. Speaking over the dead.

B. The dead deserve praise and remembrance.

C. The fact that the dead were, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, their ἀρετή.





- D. Words cannot match their deeds.
- E. Public funeral, decreed by the State.
- F. The law or custom authorising this speech.
- G. Others who have spoken previously.

## II. Glorification of Athens.

### (i) Nobility of Birth.

- A. Autochthony.
- B. Athenian individuality in this respect.
- C. The land is their mother.
- D. Fruits of the earth nourish them.

### (ii) Mythological Ancestors.

- A. Forefathers.
- B. Myths employed.
- C. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί , their ἀρετή.
- D. They are worthy of praise.
- E. They fought for freedom, opposing slavery.
- F. They fought for justice against injustice.
- G. The danger they faced, and safety.
- H. Not wishing to speak at length.

### (iii) Historical Ancestors.

- A. Fathers.
- B. Events cited.
- C. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί , their ἀρετή.
- D. They are worthy of praise and remembrance.
- E. They fought for freedom, opposing slavery.



- F. They fought for justice against injustice.
- G. The danger they faced, and safety.
- H. Defence and help rendered.
- I. They were alone in performing these deeds.
- J. A question of speaking in detail.

(iv) Constitution of the State.

- A. The Athenian constitution was a democracy.
- B. Comparison with other constitutions.
- C. Freedom.
- D. Equality.
- E. Justice.

III. The Present Public Funeral.

(i) Praise of the men who died.

- A. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι , their ἀρετή.
- B. They are worthy of praise and remembrance.
- C. They fought for freedom, opposing slavery.
- D. They fought for justice against injustice.
- E. The danger they faced, and safety.
- F. They chose a noble death.
- G. On speaking adequately.

(ii) Consolation and Exhortation.

- A. Lamentation for the dead.
- B. Bereavement of parents.
- C. Consolation of parents.
- D. The men were fortunate in their death.



- E. They achieve deathless fame.
- F. The fact that they were ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί , their ἀρετή.
- G. Emulation.
- H. Care of parents and children by the state.
- I. Public funeral and games.
- J. Afterlife.

#### IV. Conclusion.

- A. Reference to mourning.
- B. Reference to the custom or law.
- C. A command to depart.

As a formal speech the Epitaphios Logos must have an Introduction, I, and Conclusion, IV. The Introduction tends to be brief, but indicates certain important features. The authors state that they speak over the dead at a public funeral, which is significant, since the practice, as far as we know, was singular to Athens.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the fact that the orator is composing the speech over the dead as a group is distinctive; the practice ceases after Hypereides, giving way to the encomium,<sup>2</sup> which was normally composed for one person and not necessarily delivered in public. Encomia<sup>3</sup> have survived from the same period as the Epitaphioi Logoi, but the latter remain distinct on account of the plurality of the deceased and the public delivery. The authors also state that their words cannot match the deeds of the dead. This is to prepare the auditors for any shortcomings they might find in the orator's speech. This commonplace appears elsewhere in the speech, but it is virtually impossible to determine whether the sentiment was genuinely felt or not. It is a method of praise as well as an apology on the part of the author.



The Conclusion in all but Thucydides is no more than a sentence of a few words long. The Epilogos in Greek oratory tends to be less elaborate than the Latin counterpart, but the extreme brevity of the Epilogos in the Epitaphioi Logoi is not paralleled elsewhere Greek oratory. Aristotle<sup>4</sup> gives four main types of Conclusion. The first, "creating a favourable opinion of oneself", applies to forensic speeches.<sup>5</sup> The other three, "amplification and extenuation", "excitement of emotions" and "recapitulation to refresh memory" may be applied to epideictic oratory; but when the purpose of the Epitaphios Logos is a combination of praise, consolation and exhortation, the need for such methods of concluding is minimal. It was felt sufficient to bid the mourners depart, having made their lamentation. Thucydides<sup>6</sup> alone incorporates themes additional to the normal practice, and these may be categorized in Aristotle's type "amplification and extenuation"; for he mentions the city's care of the children of the deceased and a further exhortation that the greatest prize produces the best citizens.<sup>7</sup>

The major subdivisions of the Epitaphios Logos comprise (a) "Glorification of Athens", II, (b) "Praise of the men who died" and "Consolation and Exhortation of the Survivors", III. We observed that in the earlier authors (Thucydides, Plato and Lysias) the "Glorification of Athens" received a larger percentage of the orator's time, whereas in the later authors (Demosthenes and Hypereides) the "Praise of the men who died" becomes the main focus of attention. This transference of emphasis from past to present marks a major change in the approach to the Epitaphioi Logoi. We may note, however, that all authors are concerned with the element of praise; none of the authors devotes much space to the "Consolation and Exhortation".<sup>8</sup> It is praise, therefore,





that is the principal constituent of the Epitaphios Logos, and thus the Epitaphios Logos is classified as epideictic in Aristotle's division of the types of speeches.<sup>9</sup>

Within the epideictic branch of oratory there are a variety of different types of composition. The four types to which Aristotle most often refers,<sup>10</sup> ἐπιτάφιος, πανηγυρικός, παράδοξα ἐγκώμια, ἐγκώμια, "Epitaphios, Panegyric, Paradoxical Encomia and Encomia", are those which were best developed<sup>11</sup> in the period with which we are concerned. In Menander's treatise on epideictic literature<sup>12</sup> we find detailed rules for twenty-three kinds of epideictic speech; for example the βασιλικὸς λόγος, a speech praising a ruler; γενεθλιακὸς λόγος, a birthday speech; πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος, an ambassador's speech; μονωδία, a plaint; etc. Such sub-species emerged later than the period of the extant Epitaphioi Logoi. It is therefore sufficient to consider the Epitaphios Logos in relation to the other types of epideictic oratory mentioned by Aristotle, specifically the Panegyric and Encomium.

Glorification of the past might be found in the Panegyric<sup>13</sup> as well as the Epitaphios. Praise of the present dead might appear in Encomium.<sup>14</sup> What is essentially distinctive about the Epitaphios is the appearance of both these components. The glorification of the past is not praise for its own sake, but bears a direct relationship to the praise of the present dead, as can be seen from the correspondence of themes in the two subdivisions. The praise of the present dead is not confined to any one individual, as is commonly the case in Encomium, but eulogizes the Athenians as a group. The attributes of one and all are praised together.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, neither Panegyric nor Encomium



includes the topic of consolation and exhortation.

It is not the individual components of the speech which are always distinctive in themselves, but rather the combination of these components which constitutes an Epitaphios. Thus within the sections of the speech devoted to the praise of the past we may find parallels from other types of epideictic oratory; for example, the grouping of myths used in the Epitaphios corresponds to that of Isocrates in the Panegyricus (54-56). The glories of the Persian Wars appear in poetry as well as prose, for example in Pindar or Aeschylus.<sup>16</sup> The combination of themes such as the myths employed by the authors, together with the other themes observed in the sections of praise, would indicate that a speech thus composed was an Epitaphios Logos, not a Panegyric.

It is also characteristic of an Epitaphios Logos to state, in those sections of praise, that the ancestors and the dead, for whom the speech is delivered, deserve praise.<sup>17</sup> They have both demonstrated their ἀρετή<sup>18</sup> in their fight for freedom<sup>19</sup> and justice,<sup>20</sup> placing themselves in danger<sup>21</sup> and showing their superiority<sup>22</sup> to other Greeks in this respect. The "Praise of the men who died" may be expanded by such themes as their self-sacrifice or choice of noble death.<sup>23</sup> There are two other characteristic topics of importance which occur, namely Athenian autochthony<sup>24</sup> and democracy,<sup>25</sup> together with their appropriate themes. Both topics enhance the praise of the men by calling to mind the noble birth and education which will necessarily produce men who will act in a praiseworthy manner.

The secondary purpose of the Epitaphios Logos, after that of praise, is to console and exhort the survivors. With the exception of Lysias, the orators decline to participate in any lament, in order,



rather, to console and alleviate<sup>26</sup> the grief of the parents and relatives. This they do by reminding the parents of the men's fortune in death<sup>27</sup> and their immortal memory.<sup>28</sup> The authors then proceed to encourage the survivors to emulate<sup>29</sup> the dead and also to take care of those left unprotected by them.<sup>30</sup> The "Consolation and Exhortation", despite its being granted comparatively little space in the speech, is the distinctive feature par excellence of an Epitaphios Logos. The consolation did later develop into a branch of epideictic oratory,<sup>31</sup> but, as in case of Encomium, it is easily distinguished from the Epitaphioi Logoi; for the "Consolatio" does not have as its primary component the praise of past and present dead.

The Epitaphios Logos, therefore, may be defined as an epideictic speech possessing a prooimion and epilogos, not unlike deliberative or forensic speeches. The central portion of the speech is concerned primarily with praise, which distinguishes it from the narration and proofs found in the deliberative and forensic speeches. This central portion contains a combination of praise of the past, praise of a group of men who have died, together with consolation and exhortation of the survivors. The combination of these components parts distinguishes the Epitaphios from Panegyric or Encomium. Each of the component parts must be present if the Epitaphios is to be complete.

## ii) The individual features of the Epitaphioi Logoi.

The common topics and themes that have been observed are the traditional elements which each author felt necessary or natural to be included in his speech. These elements reveal but a part of the tradition of the Epitaphios Logos; many aspects still remain obscure.





There is substantial variation of treatment amongst the extant speeches, which to a certain degree accounts for the difficulties in establishing an accurate description of the tradition and its development. Original and individual topics and themes may be introduced into, or superimposed upon, a traditional structure when the author has to meet the demands of the particular situation, or when the author's own special purpose dictates his approach to the speech. Examination of such individual features will not lead to an absolute understanding of the tradition of the Epitaphios Logos. Nonetheless, since each extant speech shows the individuality of the author in some aspect, an examination of the individual features necessarily becomes part of a comprehensive study of the Epitaphioi Logoi.

(a) Thucydides.

From the very beginning of his speech Thucydides hints at his deviation from the traditional form of an Epitaphios Logos. In the introduction (35), the speaker says he did not believe a speech necessary on such occasions. At the end of the chapter, however, he declares he will speak in accordance with the custom (35.3), after describing the difficulty involved (35.2). From his initial pretence of reluctance to give the speech we feel a greater sense of the speech's importance, since the author has decided it is appropriate on this occasion. Such a device is not found in the other speeches.

Ancestors are worthy of praise (36.1, 2), but we find Thucydides dismissing the topic with an explanation also found in the later authors, namely that he does not wish to speak at length on what is already known. Rather he deems it fitting to describe the sort of training, government,





and way of life that is Athenian. (36.4) This description occupies chapters 37 to 41. The purpose of Thucydides' Epitaphios Logos, as I see it, is twofold: i) as a consolation to the bereaved (42-45), which belongs to the traditional form, and ii) as encouragement to the Athenians, bereaved and other alike, by means of a eulogy of contemporary Athens, in order to raise their spirits to pursuing the war in the following year. To enhance and emphasize for this eulogy he diminishes the role of "Praise of Ancestors" to the barest minimum.

There are certain features of this eulogy which correspond to common themes and topics that belong to the Epitaphioi Logoi. These are as follows:

|                |                                 |   |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1) Democracy   | 37 and 40.2                     | cf. II, Topic (iv).                                 |
| 2) Freedom     | 40.5                            | cf. II, Topic (ii) Theme E,<br>Topic (iii) Theme E. |
| 3) Danger      | 39.1 and 40.4                   | cf. II, Topic (ii) Theme G,<br>Topic (iii) Theme G. |
| 4) Superiority | 39.1 and 41.1                   | cf. II, Topic (iii) Theme I.                        |
| 5) ἀρετή       | etc. 37.1, 39.1, 4,<br>and 40.4 | cf. II, Topic (ii) Theme C,<br>Topic (iii) Theme C. |

The parallels are few, however, and this type of eulogy unique amongst the extant Epitaphioi Logoi.

Thucydides begins with an account of the democratic system at Athens, which acts as a basis for the city's greatness (37). He proceeds to demonstrate the benefits a citizen may derive from a well-governed city, i.e. the opportunity to relax and enjoyment of the economic wealth that pours in (38). He compares the Athenian military system with that of Sparta, showing the liberal attitudes of the Athenians, who prevent no person from observing their activities (39.1).<sup>32</sup> Furthermore Athens stands and can stand alone (39.3), whereas Sparta depends upon her allies



(39.2). Despite her apparent ease in comparison with Sparta, Athens can still produce ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί (39.4).

In direct contrast to military affairs, the following portion of the speech (40-41) is devoted to Athenian love of the arts and proof that the Athenians can combine this love with manliness and a willingness to participate in public affairs; for "we Athenians" consider the man who does not as useless, ἀχρεῖος (40.2). In their projects they desire preliminary reflection, though not to the extent of delay (40.3). It is implied that the Athenians can strike a balance between rashness and hesitation. Their loyalty to friends is also mentioned (40.4). In all these respects the Athenians prove themselves superior to others in civil as well as military conduct. As a result the characteristic attributes of Athens, that is of her citizens, become an education to the rest of Greece (41.1). The author maintains that Athens' power is for all to see in the deeds of her men, not in the praises of any poet (41.4). In conclusion he links the whole section again with the occasion of the speech by saying that it was for such a city that these men died and that it is fitting for each and every man of those left to follow their example and die willingly for her.

In this eulogy of Athens and the Athenians the author wishes to focus attention on the objective for which the Athenians were fighting. Its function is much the same as a glorification of the deeds of ancestors, namely to create a standard for emulation.<sup>33</sup>

In the second major section of the speech, the "Present Public Funeral", Thucydides again indicates his use of the traditional framework.<sup>34</sup> We find praise of the men who died and consolation and exhortation of the survivors. Again the material is developed in an original



and striking manner, which elevates the speech above the other Epitaphioi Logoi. The subdivision of the section into topics (i) and (ii) is not altogether rigid. We do find an element of exhortation in (i), namely, in his plea to those present (43.1) to gaze upon the power of Athens day by day and to become lovers of her.

One major difference between Thucydides and the other authors lies in his expansion of the theme of consolation to the parents of the dead. In a passage of extraordinary rationality Thucydides calls upon those who are still young enough to have more children to live in hope of producing more Athenian citizens. The children will bring eventual forgetfulness of those lost and will also be of assistance to the city; for the children will eventually be guardians of the city and their parents will be prevented from making rash judgments since they must take thought for their children's safety (44.3). The rationality seen in this statement of Thucydides is an example of an intellectual honesty seldom encountered in the other Epitaphioi Logoi, which helps raise this speech above the others. The speaker then turns to the old. They must count their life fortunate in the knowledge that the remainder will be short. This bleak consolation is perhaps the strangest consolation of those that appear in the Epitaphioi Logoi. It again exemplifies Thucydides' rationality. The old will inevitably die soon, but perhaps he intends to associate their fortune with the fortune of those who have just died (cf. 44.1). The old should derive comfort from their sons' immortal honour, as honour-loving people (44.4). Words specifically directed to the brothers and wives of the dead (45) is another unique aspect of Thucydides' consolation. In the other speeches only parents and sons are mentioned.





The unusual nature of Thucydides' epilogos (46) has already been noted.<sup>35</sup> The author summarizes the whole tenour of his speech in one sentence (46.1), "where the prizes for excellence are the greatest, there one finds the best citizens." In content the speech of Thucydides far surpasses any of the other Epitaphioi Logoi.

(b) Lysias.

Lysias' speech perhaps shows the least deviation from the proposed structure of an Epitaphios Logos.<sup>36</sup> As far as emphasis is concerned, Lysias devotes the largest percentage of space to the "Glorification of Athens", in particular to praise of mythological and historical ancestors. He gives detail which the other orators omit, and as a result the actual dead, over whom he delivers the speech, become almost insignificant. The composition of such a detailed account seems to be Lysias' interpretation of the tradition to glorify Athens. One may suppose that it was over-emphasis of this traditional topic that caused other orators, especially Demosthenes and Hypereides, to dismiss the topic in order to give due prominence to the actual dead.

In his praise of ancestors, Lysias seems to draw his narrative to a close at chapters 58 to 60, having briefly alluded to the disaster at Aegospotami and naval action in the Aegean in the 390's. One would expect at this point in the speech, therefore, to find the transition made to the present and praise of the dead to be given. Lysias, however, suddenly reverts back to an event which occurred not long after Aegospotami, namely the democratic uprising in the Piraeus (61-66). This isolation gives the event undue prominence and makes Lysias'





concern with the contemporary situation of the Corinthian War even more diminished in importance.

We already noted one oddity in Lysias' Introduction.<sup>37</sup> His phraseology would indicate that more than one person spoke over the present dead. The question was discussed in some length and a possible explanation given that the author was referring to informal words spoken on the dead as well the official speech which he was delivering. It need only be mentioned at this point as an example of an individual feature of Lysias' speech, without further discussion.

Another individual feature of Lysias is his mention of two men by name, Themistocles (42) and Myronides (52). These were two notable Athenian generals. Although the two are not exalted by being named, it is unusual in that we do not find other speakers including reference to particular individuals by name before Hypereides' praise of Leosthenes. There seems to be no special reason why Lysias did so in his "Glorification of Athens".

The principal aspect in which Lysias differs from the other orators is the stress given to lamentation.<sup>38</sup> After brief praise of those who died in the Corinthian War (67-68), he dwells on the appropriateness of grieving over these men (69-76), and in his Conclusion (81) he calls his auditors to lament in accordance with the ancient custom. It cannot be ascertained whether Lysias refers to a set composition or to the general keening that would accompany any funeral. The latter is more probable, 'although it is generally accepted<sup>39</sup> that there is some relationship between the lyric threnos and the development of the Epitaphios Logos. As suggested in the discussion on the theme of lamentation<sup>38</sup> this section of an Epitaphios may have been



optional. It was therefore Lysias' personal inclinations which prompted him to include the theme.

(c) Plato.

Of all the Epitaphioi Logoi, that which survives in the Menexenus has proved the most problematic to interpret.<sup>40</sup> Plato follows the traditional pattern for the most part, as far as content is concerned. We noted that, like Lysias, he gave greater emphasis to the section dealing with the glorification of Athens. His individuality, however, is apparent in the following ways:

1) his exaggerated rhetorical treatment of the topic of εὐγένεια (237c<sub>5</sub>-238b<sub>6</sub>); 2) his calling democracy an aristocracy, together with the ensuing contradiction (238c<sub>6</sub>ff.); 3) his ironical reference to his own "plain prose" in comparison to the works of the poets on mythological ancestors (239b<sub>7</sub>-c<sub>2</sub>); 4) his blatant falsification in his praise of historical ancestors, particularly when he considers those who fought in the Peloponnesian War and later (239a<sub>5</sub>-246a); 5) his omission of the section of an Epitaphios which praises the present dead; 6) his inclusion of words of consolation supposedly uttered by the dead themselves and the subsequent repetition of the same themes by the orator himself (246d<sub>1</sub>-249c<sub>6</sub>).

The list of historical falsification and anachronism is impressive. We find:

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 240b <sub>4</sub> | -- "Within three days" is contradicted by Herodotus' "seven days" (VI, 101.2).                               |
| 241c <sub>4</sub> | - Plato exaggerates the importance of the part played by Athens at Plataea, with no mention of the Spartans. |



- 241c-d - The period after the Persian Wars was hardly as momentous as Plato indicates. The expeditions to Egypt and Cyprus were nearly disastrous for Athens (cf. Thuc. I 110).
- 242a<sub>6</sub>-b<sub>4</sub> - Plato's attributing credit to Athens by saying the battle at Tanagra was undecided conflicts with Thucydides (I 108). The Spartans defeated Athens.
- The space of time between the battle and Oenophytoi, if "on the third day" is correct, is mistaken. (Cf. Thuc. I 108, where the figure of two months appears.)
- 242c - He magnifies the importance of Sphacteria, and the suggestion that peace followed immediately is blatantly untrue. (Cf. Thuc. V 24.)
- 243a - Plato suggests that Athens was fighting for the freedom of the Leontinoi in Sicily, without reference to any other events. (Cf. Thuc. VII.)
- 243b-c - Plato also mentions action in the Aegean being highly praiseworthy. He refers to the enemy under blockade at Mytilene, which is contrary to Xenophon's account (Hell. I 6.18) where he describes Conon, the Athenian general, under blockade and his loss of thirty ships. The failure to recover the war-dead at Arginusae is hinted at by Plato, but without criticism. ὁμολογισμένως ironically qualifies ἄριστοι, since the generals' trial after the battle was also well known (cf. Xen. Hell. I 6.34; 7.1).
- 243d - On the final defeat of Athens, Plato ignores the battle of Aegospotami and Lysander's victory for Sparta. He maintains that the Athenians remain "unbeaten by them at least", where "them" equals Spartans (cf. Xen. Hell. II 1.23-29). Plato states that peace and rest were achieved, not mentioning the heavy war indemnities imposed by Lysander (cf. Xen. Hell. II 2.20).
- 243e - The democratic uprising in the Piraeus was hardly a happy and friendly affair, as suggested by ἀσμένως and οἰκείως (cf. Xen. Hell. II 4.1-38).





- 244c, d - Reference to the action in the Aegean and the Corinthian League of the 390's constitutes an anachronism. This would be obvious to the auditors since Socrates died in 399. The dramatic date of the dialogue must therefore be placed at the end of the 5th century.

The emphasis on the necessity for praising the historical ancestors of Athens, crowned by the fact that falsification and anachronism are very much in evidence prove that Plato's purpose was to mock the Athenians' delight in such a speech as the Epitaphios. The falsehood and anachronism are not the result of the author's carelessness, but are deliberate. Plato lived through many of the events and experienced the results; some of them were recent enough to assure us of accurate knowledge on his part and on the part of his auditors. If we step outside the boundaries of the actual speech, we see that Menexenus, for whom Socrates is made to deliver the speech, accepts the historical account with no criticism, only admiration (249d<sub>1</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>). Falsification is therefore part of the irony of the Menexenus. We shall return to the anachronism briefly.

Ironical statement and comment may be observed at many points within the speech;<sup>41</sup> for example, that ἄγαθοί men are born of ἄγαθοί parents (237a<sub>6</sub>) is a belief Plato denies elsewhere (cf. Protagoras 325b). The rhetorically elaborate passage on εὐγένεια (237c<sub>5</sub>-238b<sub>6</sub>) surely mimics the methods of sophists and other rhetoricians, and hence plays its part in the irony of the speech. The constant repetition of the theme ἄξιόν ἐστι ἐπαινεῖν throughout the topic of historical ancestors is another example of mimicry. That the uprising in the Piraeus (243e) was a "happy and friendly" affair cannot be other than irony. By omission of praise of the men





for whom the speech purports to be composed Plato grants undue emphasis to praise of the past and little to the present. Thus he makes his ridicule of the Epitaphios the more obvious.

The words of Socrates in preface to the speech indicate beyond doubt that Plato composed the dialogue to mock the institution of delivering an Epitaphios over the dead. Socrates' first lengthy speech (234c<sub>1</sub>ff.) is totally ironic. He maintains that it is quite a splendid thing to die in war because one receives a splendid funeral, even if one is poor, and praise, even if one is worthless. As he listens to the speech of praise, which is prepared and delivered by men of wisdom, he is enchanted, bewitched and transported to the Isles of the Blessed; "for such is the art of our rhetoricians"(235c<sub>5</sub>). Menexenus recognizes Socrates' irony at this point, accusing him of always poking fun at the ῥήτορες, but is certain that in the case of the speech about to be delivered in the city the orator will not have time to prepare, since the choice will be made at short notice (235c<sub>7-8</sub>). To counter this naive remark and prove to Menexenus that all such speeches are derived from stock themes prepared well in advance, Socrates delivers a speech he pretends is Aspasia's. Menexenus' reaction of admiration at the end of the speech (249d<sub>2</sub>) shows that he has entirely missed Socrates' point; for he imagines the Epitaphios to be serious.

The most incredible irony in the dialogue is Socrates' claim to have Aspasia as his tutor in rhetoric, Aspasia who also taught Pericles (235e<sub>5-7</sub>). By this allusion Plato produces in his reader's mind an instant association with the Epitaphios Logos of Pericles<sup>42</sup> (which has been preserved in Thucydides). He also creates a somewhat



ludicrous situation. Socrates could hardly make a serious claim to have a teacher of Rhetoric, let alone a woman, Aspasia. The speech Socrates is about to repeat is supposedly the composition of Aspasia, which she had prepared to deliver over the dead for whom the Boule were to choose an orator. The deliberate ascription of the speech to Aspasia increases the reader's awareness of the anachronistic references to the events of the 390's; for Aspasia died before Socrates,<sup>43</sup> which would make the dramatic date of the dialogue earlier still.

That Plato in the Menexenus composed a mock Epitaphios Logos is evident from the irony and falsification we have observed. Mock speeches are not unknown elsewhere in Plato's works, for example in the Phaedrus. The Menexenus, therefore, cannot be considered spurious. Nor can one imagine that the speech in the Menexenus is a serious Epitaphios for a serious occasion. Plato's intention, however, to mock the Epitaphios as an institution, well established and respected as it was by the Athenians, is serious. As an Epitaphios Logos, therefore, the speech in the Menexenus is the most individual and isolated of all the Epitaphioi Logoi.

(d) Demosthenes.

We observe a distinct change in the pattern of funeral orations when we reach that of Demosthenes. He is primarily concerned with the present situation and dispenses with the conventional glorification of Athens' past. He hesitates (6) to repeat in detail the mythological and historical examples found in previous Epitaphioi Logoi. The topic of nobility of birth is granted a certain importance (4, 5). The orator then points out that through lack of time a summary



of the ἀρετή of Athens' ancestors will have to suffice (6). There follows a brief account of the traditional myths of the Epitaphios (7, 8). The treatment of the topic of historical ancestors is briefer still, omitting any reference to specific events, apart from an exaggerated comparison of the Athenian defeat of the whole of Asia with the legendary Trojan War (10).

By way of an introduction to the main portion of his speech, Demosthenes makes an appeal to the goodwill of his auditors (13-14), particularly those not immediately related to the men who died. He contrasts his position with that of the man appointed to honour the dead by some physical display. A speaker cannot depend entirely upon himself, as the athlete does, but must also have his audience's indulgence. Such an appeal is more elaborate than those found in the other Epitaphioi Logoi. None of the others specifically refers to εὐνοία, goodwill. Appeals of this kind also occur in the political and judicial speeches of Demosthenes. This is one feature which suggests that Demosthenes' Epitaphios Logos was influenced by his composition of political and judicial speeches.

The most noteworthy feature of Demosthenes' praise of the men who died is his method of approach. The author does not follow the normal narrative pattern, but adopts the form of a series of proofs to demonstrate the men's ἀρετή. He commences with the men's birth and education (16-19). Then follows a discussion on the men's ἀρετή in the battle (19-20), the result of the battle (20-21) and those the orator deemed responsible for the defeat (22). In conventional manner he declares that the men died fighting for Greek freedom and that their loss is a great one (23-24). Another





proof of the men's inherent ἀρετή is the form of constitution under which they lived (25-26). This topic, we note, has been transferred from a position in the "Glorification of Athens" in previous Epitaphioi Logoi. Thus the author has used a traditional topic within his altered framework of the speech. The final proof of the men's ἀρετή is the section (27-31) dealing with the eponymous heroes of the ten Athenian tribes, in whom the individual members of each tribe find incentive to be ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί. The innovation may be explained as an adaptation of the topic of mythological ancestors into the "Praise of the men who died", to give such a topic more relevance to the present; for Demosthenes did cite the traditional myths in the first part of his speech.

Demosthenes' approach to the funeral oration, then, seems to be one of debate and argument, rather than pure statement of praise and consolation. This approach is typical of his normal method of address,<sup>44</sup> namely in his political and judicial speeches. In this way Demosthenes' speech is distinctive from the other Epitaphioi Logoi.

(e) Hypereides.

In Hypereides' speech we discern more clearly the departure from the traditional Epitaphios Logos already observed in Demosthenes' speech. After the prooimion (1-3), Hypereides repeats Demosthenes' notion that time is insufficient to relate the glories of Athens' past (4). He therefore gives a summary, which consists of one sentence (5), making an elaborate comparison between the city and the sun. In these few lines he incorporates some of the major themes





found in the "Glorification of Athens", namely the fight for justice and equality, and the common danger and ultimate safety of Greece. His principal concern, however, is with the present, rather than the past, both because of personal reasons and the attitude of his auditors.

Hypereides is personally involved<sup>45</sup> in the delivery of the speech since his friend Leosthenes, the general, was among the deceased. He gives Leosthenes a singular position in the Epitaphios by praising him separately from the rest of the Athenians. There are precedents<sup>46</sup> for the praise of the individual in the 4th century, but not in an Epitaphios Logos. In this speech we find the fusion of praise of the individual and praise of the group. The latter element is distinctive to the Epitaphios Logos, but is the element which will disappear, leaving the praise of the individual, such as is the case in Encomia.<sup>47</sup>

Hypereides' praise of Leosthenes comprises an account of his previous victories (10-15) and a comparison of Leosthenes with great Athenian figures of the past (35-39). Leosthenes is praised together with his men (23-34). The men themselves are also given their due in a section apart from Leosthenes (15-22). Themes similar to those which occur in the other Epitaphioi Logoi in praise of ancestors and the present dead are used by Hypereides. Their frequent repetition was noted.<sup>48</sup> He appropriately transfers the theme of autochthony from its position with the mythological ancestors of Athens to his introductory words in the "Praise of the men who died".

Hypereides' technique in the section on the present dead consists of narrative interspersed with comment and even speculation (cf. 20-22). His extension of the praise of the present dead necessitates his narrating their achievements in the past, but he is only



concerned with the past that is directly relevant to these men. Such an account is not found in the previous funeral orations. In his treatment of Leosthenes, however, not only does he describe Leosthenes' past victories, but also refers to heroes of the past, mythological and historical (35-39), naming Miltiades, Themistocles, Harmodius and Aristogeiton. He imagines such men greeting Leosthenes, when he arrives in Hades, as a fellow hero (35). He openly compares Leosthenes with men of the past. Part of the purpose of the "Glorification of Athens" in the previous Epitaphioi Logoi was to set up an indirect comparison between the deceased and those who fought bravely for Athens in the past, but the comparison was implied, not specifically expressed. The direct comparison is an innovation of Hypereides.

As far as the "Consolation and Exhortation" (41-43) is concerned, there is little change from the standard pattern. Some editors<sup>49</sup> consider the consolation commences at 27, since there the orator speaks of parents and relatives of the deceased. The author, however, merely states that they will gain fame through the achievements of those who have died. He does not address them, nor make any allusion to consolation or give any words of encouragement until the final part of the speech that survives (41-43). This part has been called "Peroration" by some.<sup>50</sup> There is, however, no precedent for such a lengthy conclusion to an Epitaphios Logos. Although we observed that Hypereides does alter the traditional form of the speech to some degree, his speech is still fairly similar to that of Demosthenes, who follows his praise of the present dead with a short "Consolation and Exhortation" (32-37), concluding with an extremely brief epilogos (37). Furthermore, the themes used by Hypereides in



the section in question (41-43) correspond with those regularly found in the Epitaphioi Logoi.<sup>51</sup> It seems probable that 41-43 constitute the "Consolation and Exhortation".

Hypereides' speech is the last extant Epitaphios Logos. His isolation of the individual for praise may be a reflection of the concentration on the individual in Hellenistic times. The *πῶλις* and its importance as an integral part of Greek life was disintegrating by Hypereides' time. After the Lamian War Athens was controlled by a series of governors.<sup>52</sup> Gone were the patriotic sentiments, democratic inclinations and the military power which had fostered the public funerals<sup>53</sup> and the Epitaphioi Logoi in Athens. As the state yielded to the individual, so the praise of the state yielded to praise of the individual. The Epitaphios Logos such as I have considered in this thesis ceased to exist.

#### NOTES

1. See Dem. In Lept. 141.
2. See Burgess *op. cit.* 113ff.
3. e.g. Isocrates Evagoras, Xenophon Agesilaus.
4. Aristotle Rhet. 1419b<sub>19</sub> ff.
5. On the division of oratory into the branches, forensic, epideictic and deliberative, see Aristotle Rhet. 1358b ff.
6. See page 107ff.
7. See page 86.
8. Thucydides devotes the largest amount of space to "Consolation



and Exhortation" - a mere 15% : see page 57.

- 9 The epideictic branch of oratory is, according to Aristotle Rhet. 1358b<sub>12</sub> , concerned with praise or blame.
- 10 Aristotle Rhet. 1366a<sub>29</sub> refers to epideictic speeches as serious, μετὰ σπουδῆς , and otherwise, χωρὶς σπουδῆς . The names here given are later appellations, but are convenient to describe the types of epideictic literature to which Aristotle refers.
- 11 See Burgess, op. cit. 105.
- 12 See Menander, περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν , in Spengel, Rhetores Graeci (Leipzig 1853) III 346ff.
- 13 The Panegyric was delivered at a public festival or national assembly, πανήγυρις : see Burgess op. cit. 112, and Isocrates Panegyricus, as the foremost example of such a speech.
- 14 Encomium, praise of the individual, need not be composed for the dead, although the examples from the period with which we are concerned are; see Isocrates, Evagoras, and Xenophon, Agesilaus. The term encomium includes such types as the birthday speech, certainly not composed for the dead.
- 15 Even in Hypereides' speech, Leosthenes is praised together with the men and then separately: see page 120.
- 16 See fragments 64 and 65 of Pindar and the Persae of Aeschylus.
- 17 I Theme B; II Topic (ii) Theme D, Topic (iii) Theme D; III Topic (i) Theme B.
- 18 I Theme C; II Topic (ii) Theme C, Topic (iii) Theme C; III Topic (i) Theme A, Topic (ii) Theme F.
- 19 II Topic (ii) Theme E, Topic (iii) Theme E, Topic (iv) Theme C; III Topic (i) Theme C.
- 20 II Topic (ii) Theme F, Topic (iii) Theme F, Topic (iv) Theme D; III Topic (i) Theme D.
- 21 II Topic (ii) Theme G, Topic (iii) Theme G; III Topic (i) Theme E.
- 22 II Topic (iii) Theme I.
- 23 III Topic (i) Theme F.
- 24 II Topic (i).
- 25 II Topic (iv).







- 26 III Topic (ii) Theme C.
- 27 III Topic (ii) Theme D.
- 28 III Topic (ii) Theme E.
- 29 III Topic (ii) Theme G.
- 30 III Topic (ii) Theme H.
- 31 The "Consolatio" is chiefly found in Latin literature, although it did originate in Greek: see Burgess, op. cit. 111 and the O.C.D. 279.
- 32 On Spartan  $\xi\sigma\nu\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  , see Gomme, op. cit. 117.
- 33 This section may also be interpreted as a justification for Athenian leadership amongst the Greeks, which she was striving to preserve in the Peloponnesian War.
- 34 See J. E. Ziolkowski, Thucydides and the Tradition of Funeral Speeches at Athens, Doct. Diss. University of North Carolina (1963).
- 35 See pages 86 and 103.
- 36 See Kennedy, op. cit. 157. Kennedy, however, does not describe the traits of an "average" funeral speech.
- 37 See page 9 f.
- 38 See page 74.
- 39 See A. Lesky, A History of Greek Literature (London 1966) 351.
- 40 See Kennedy, op. cit. 158 ff. Also Huby, op. cit. 106, and A. E. Taylor, Plato: the man and his work (London 1926) 41.
- 41 Other examples of irony are to be found in 242a<sub>2-6</sub>, 243a<sub>3-5</sub>, 243e<sub>4-7</sub>, 244a<sub>1-3</sub>, 245d<sub>1</sub>.
- 42 Association seems to be in Plato's mind. Gomme, however, in his discussion of the Epitaphios (op. cit. 103-144) would indicate that the Menexenus is in fact parody of Pericles' speech.
- 43 See Taylor, op. cit. 41.
- 44 I disagree with Lesky, op. cit. 605, where he says "The Epitaphios (of Demosthenes) is quite remote both in style and emotion from the assembly speeches..."



- 45 See Kennedy, op. cit. 165.
- 46 See G. Colin, "L'Oraison Funèbre d'Hypéride, ses rapports avec les autres oraisons funèbres athéniennes ", R.E.G. 51 (1938) 249-251.
- 47 See page 105 and note 14 thereon.
- 48 See page 64.
- 49 See J.O. Burtt, Minor Attic Orators II (London 1941).
- 50 See Colin, "Hypéride: Discours" 278 and 302.
- 51 See list, page 72 f.
- 52 See Cambridge Ancient History VI 459ff.
- 53 Cf. the policy of Demetrius of Phalerum, curtailing expenditure on festivals, funerals, etc. See Cambridge Ancient History VI 459ff.



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